

## Contents



<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter One. The Sound of Jewish Modernity: Sephardic Hebrew and the Berlin Haskalah	21
Chapter Two. “Castilian Pride and Oriental Dignity”: Sephardic Beauty in the Eye of the Ashkenazic Beholder	53
Chapter Three. Of Minarets and Menorahs: The Building of Oriental Synagogues	112
Chapter Four. Pleasure Reading: Sephardic Jews and the German-Jewish Literary Imagination	161
Chapter Five. Writing Jewish History: The Construction of a Glorious Sephardic Past	190
Epilogue	231
<i>Notes</i>	239
<i>Bibliography</i>	291
<i>Index</i>	321

## Introduction



This is a book about beauty, about style, about appearance. It is about the German-Jewish quest to be seen as dignified, as refined, as physically appealing. Our story starts in the late eighteenth century, when the Jewish battle for social acceptance and legal emancipation began, and continues through to the late nineteenth century with the explosion of nationalism, mass politics, and racial antisemitism in Germany. In the late eighteenth century, German Jewry began to develop a new and distinctive sense of self, one predicated on its adoption of German language and culture. This was followed in the nineteenth century by the advent of new forms of Judaism, the turn to Jewish scholarship, the acquisition of university education, and the emergence of Jews into the middle classes. All of these innovations intended to or served to change the image and appearance of Jews and Judaism.<sup>1</sup>

One aspect of the great cultural transformation of German Jewry was the special place of honor it accorded medieval Spanish Jewry. Over that span of one hundred years, what began as respect for Sephardic culture developed into adulation, and it is my contention that this sentiment became a constitutive element of German-Jewish self-perception, for this celebration of Sephardic Jewry led simultaneously to a self-critique, often a very harsh one, of Ashkenazic culture. In the eighteenth century German Jewry became increasingly and self-consciously distinct from Polish Jewry. As it went on to form a new type of Ashkenazic culture, the superiority that certain communal leaders claimed was a hallmark of Sephardic civilization offered an ideal that proved inspirational to the shapers of modern German-Jewish identity. I further argue that the intricately interdependent ideas about the Ashkenazic self and the Sephardic Other produced a set of assumptions, beliefs, and prejudices that were marshaled in the process of German-Jewish self-actualization and self-fashioning. The program of remaking German-Jewish aesthetics rested upon establishing a hard cultural line of demarcation between the Jewries of Germany and Poland and invoking the usable and easy-to-celebrate aspects of medieval Sephardic culture, which German Jews considered exemplary. This is the story this book seeks to tell.

From the outset, let me state that I am not suggesting that German Jews gave constant thought to Sephardic Jewry, and I am certainly not suggesting they wanted to imitate them. In fact, given that Christian commentators in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries frequently dismissed Jews as “Asiatic” or “Oriental,” the majority of German Jews were dedicated to a

2 • Introduction

process of occidentalization, not orientalization, and probably paid only scant attention, if any at all, to the Jews of Muslim Spain. What I am saying, however, is that those elites who molded Jewish popular opinion in Germany, those who shaped self-perceptions and created a narrative to go along with those sentiments, did think about medieval Iberian Jewry a lot, and those thoughts were almost always positive. The rays of Spanish Jewry's Golden Age continued to shine long after that community's tragic end, and it may be argued that those rays enjoyed their greatest luminosity in modern Germany.

To a great extent, our own perception of medieval Sephardic Jewry is a cultural legacy bequeathed to us by nineteenth-century German Jews, for their scholarship and popular culture worked in tandem to produce a set of representative images that have enjoyed remarkable staying power, right down to our own day. It was a non-Jewish scholar, the Lutheran theologian and Christian Hebraist Franz Delitzsch, who coined the term "Golden Age" to describe what he said was the period in Spain when "Jewish scholarship and art reached its highest glory." Yet it was the abundant use of the expression in the popular and scholarly discourse of German Jews that made for both its normative use and the nearly universal acceptance of its facticity.<sup>2</sup>

If one could play a retroactive word-association game with nineteenth-century German Jews, the following would have been some of the words and names uttered in response to "Sephardic Jewry": Golden Age, Hebrew poetry, rationalist philosophy, reason, tolerance, openness, Ibn Ezra, Judah Halevi, and Maimonides. If they were then asked to respond to the term "Ashkenazic Jewry," they would surely have mentioned the Crusades, blood libel, ritual murder, martyrdom, intolerance, insularity, superstition, Hasidism, and Yiddish. Beyond Rashi, it would be hard to imagine a modern, secular German Jew naming another medieval rabbi from either Germany or Poland. Every association our German-Jewish participant in this game made about Sephardic Jewry was positive, while nearly every association for Ashkenazic Jewry was negative. This is not to say there is no element of truth in any of these signifiers. Though the intellectual and vernacular cultures of German Jewry greatly exaggerated the extent of tolerance that Iberian Islam extended to medieval Jews, it seems to have been a less oppressive, restrictive, and violent environment than that which Jews experienced in Christian Europe. For example, Jews enjoyed greater economic freedom under Islam, ritual murder charges were invented and flourished in Christian Europe and not in the Islamic orbit, while rationalist philosophy was the preserve of Sephardic, not Ashkenazic, intellectuals. Hebrew grammarians of the first rank were to be found in Spain and to a lesser, or a less well-known, extent in Central and Western Europe.<sup>3</sup> However, the totalizing superficiality of popular perceptions, first crafted, as I will argue, by German Ashkenazic communal elites and intellectuals, fails to recognize uncomfort-

able realities, principal among them that “the aristocratic bearing of a select class of courtiers and poets . . . should not blind us to the reality that this tightly knit circle of leaders and aspirants to power was neither the whole of Spanish Jewish history nor of Spanish Jewish society. Their gilded moments of the tenth and eleventh century are but a brief chapter in a longer saga.”<sup>4</sup>

Also only rarely highlighted was the fact that like the Jews of Spain those of medieval Ashkenaz also had their Hebrew poets, grammarians, exegetes, distinguished political representatives, and physicians, who served Crown and Christian commoner alike.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to the views of those Jews who shaped German-Jewish culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Jewish affinity for Muslim culture was not universally shared by all medieval Spanish Jews. Even among Sephardic elites, there was vehement rejection of rationalist metaphysics, which, they held, was the result of Islam’s nefarious influence. There was also considerable Jewish disdain for Islam itself, with many Spanish Jews dismissing it as nothing but idolatry.<sup>6</sup> Harmony, let alone a Muslim-Jewish symbiosis, was far from the norm, and even though some nineteenth-century German-Jewish scholars recognized this, the more historically accurate picture, which included considerable social coercion and theological friction, hardly blurred the romantic portrait they likewise painted.<sup>7</sup>

Perception proved more powerful than reality, and, beginning in the eighteenth century, German Jews saw in the Sephardim of the Golden Age Jews who possessed what the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu called “cultural capital.” As he defined the term, it referred to “all the goods material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation.”<sup>8</sup> The emerging middle- and upper-class Jews of eighteenth-century Berlin saw in the Jews of medieval Spain a community that was culturally wealthy, established, and admired by Gentile elites. As evaluated by German Jews, Sephardic “cultural capital” also turned the Jews of Spain into a living expression of Jewish “symbolic capital” and hence generated the idea that they were an ideal community. Endowed with honor and prestige, as befitting their status vis-à-vis other Jewish communities, the Sephardim were a “cultural nobility,” to again borrow from Bourdieu, and the measure against which German Jews assessed their own, Ashkenazic self-worth.<sup>9</sup> In what follows we will see how their own forebears, medieval Ashkenazic Jewry, were assayed and found, by comparison, to be of little cultural value. Moreover, it was claimed, they had bequeathed their particular form of cultural penury to their descendants in Germany and Poland. Modern German Jewry sought to shake off that legacy and rid itself of that inheritance by amassing its own cultural capital. The great investment in that project made by maskilim, community leaders, and then the great majority of German Jews would, it was hoped, be transformed into a kind of symbolic capital whereby they

would now assume the mantle of prestige and recognition that had once been the possession of Sephardic Jewry.

A central component of the belief system that saw German Jewry value so highly the cultural and symbolic capital of the Sephardim and undervalue that of the Ashkenazim turned on aesthetics and gave rise to the belief that the Sephardim were the most beautiful Jews, and that their culture was aesthetically superior to that of the Ashkenazim. This notion will be our particular focus in this study. We begin in the eighteenth century because that was the moment when appearances first began to matter to German Jews. Long considered to be in religious and thus moral error, Jews faced a new charge at this time, namely, that they were in aesthetic error. In response, the upper stratum of that community began to adopt what the literary theorist Terry Eagleton has called the “ideology of the aesthetic.” Speaking principally about eighteenth-century German thought, Eagleton notes that, “in this particular epoch of class-society, with the emergence of the early bourgeoisie, aesthetic concepts (some of them of distinguished historical pedigree) begin to play, however tacitly, an unusually central, intensive part in the constitution of a dominant ideology.” In making this claim, Eagleton is principally referring to systems of philosophical thought concerned with art writ large. That is less the case with contemporaneous Jewish thought, for in formulating an ideology of aesthetics, the Jewish Brahmins of Berlin were concerned with the practical application of new ideas about aesthetics as opposed to speculative consideration about them. Eagleton is surely right to note that “aesthetics is born as a discourse of the body. In its original formulation by the German philosopher Alexander Baumgarten, the term refers not in the first place to art, but, as the Greek *aisthesis* would suggest, to the whole region of human perception and sensation, in contrast to the more rarefied domain of conceptual thought.”<sup>10</sup> Increasing numbers of German Jews not only preached the ideology of aesthetics but practiced it as well.

Critical theorists have long pointed to the link between aesthetics and politics, some seeing in it an explanatory device for the appeal of fascism, with others seeing it, according to historian Martin Jay, in opposing terms; in this alternative view, “bourgeois culture at its height rather than at its moment of seeming decay is . . . taken as a point of departure for aestheticized politics.”<sup>11</sup> In introducing his subject, Eagleton offers the disclaimer that he does “not really intend to suggest that the eighteenth-century bourgeoisie assembled around a table over their claret to dream up the concept of the aesthetic as a solution to their political dilemmas.”<sup>12</sup> In contrast to the bourgeois circles of which Eagleton speaks, I will argue that the upper German-Jewish bourgeoisie did assemble, at times physically, at other times through the circulation of texts and letters, to discuss Jewish appearances both for their own sake and “as a solution to their political dilemmas.” In doing so, they sought to sculpt a specifically new Ashkenazic aesthetic, tak-

ing conscious steps to implement it with a view to becoming refined, cultured, and even beautiful. The larger goal of their “aestheticized politics” was to be deemed worthy of political emancipation and social acceptance. What follows is an exploration of the ways German Jews alternately internalized, rejected, parsed, and negotiated ideas and charges about their own aesthetics. It is about the strategies they adopted to cultivate their aesthetic selves. As such, this is not a study about Sephardic Jewry. Rather, it is about the construction of a particular form of modern Ashkenazic identity, that of the German variety, and the way the trope of the beautiful Sephardic Jew was deployed in the service of German-Jewish identity formation.

Until the modern period there is no evidence that Jews were ever really concerned with, let alone embarrassed by, their particular aesthetic. Their corporeal, sartorial, and linguistic selves were not as they were as a matter of chance but rather were the result of a highly regulated set of proscriptions all considered to be in accordance with either Jewish law, deeply ingrained custom, or social necessity. Biblical laws that regulated everything from permissible fabrics to facial hair were further supplemented over the centuries by a raft of sumptuary laws that regulated Jewish behaviors and appearance. Largely unenforceable and frequently honored in the breach, these laws nevertheless represented a Jewish behavioral and aesthetic ideal.<sup>13</sup>

Even Jewish ideas of beauty and ugliness were shaped by an idealized commitment to the Law. The Jewish masculine ideal, so very different from that of the Christian, revered the pale-skinned, gentle Torah scholar while reviling the ruddy-cheeked, unbooked, Gentile boy, his complexion a tell-tale sign of his frivolous, outdoor ways. As for their speech, Jews prayed in the very same language that God spoke, and Ashkenazim conducted their daily affairs, including Torah study, in Yiddish, a language that made quotidian the admonitions of the prophets and the wisdom of the sages. There was nothing to be ashamed of, for the Jews appeared exactly as the Lord had commanded them to look. God was the ultimate arbiter of Jewish style.

In the eighteenth century, this long-standing Jewish accommodation to God’s fashion sense began to break down. In Germany, the embourgeoisement of Jews was coterminous with the drawn-out process of Jewish emancipation. Many members of the Jewish upper classes began to adopt secular lifestyles and cultivate bourgeois tastes and sensibilities in the hope that in so doing they would come to be considered Germans. Increasing inattentiveness to Jewish ritual as well as certain aspects of popular Jewish culture were likewise losing their hold on this social stratum. Knowledge of Hebrew was in sharp decline, and what would become a long-running assault on the Yiddish language began with German maskilim. Sartorially, Jewish men were increasingly clean-shaven, and traditional Jewish dress was abandoned in favor of contemporary fashions. Writing about eighteenth-century England, the historian Dror Wahrman has observed that “fashion signified the

constant manufacturing and remanufacturing of identity through clothes.”<sup>14</sup> This applies to German Jews as well. Thanks to changes in dress and language, they came to increasingly look and sound more and more like their Christian neighbors.

These cultural transformations were hastened and intensified by increasing fraternization between upper-class Jews and non-Jews.<sup>15</sup> Exposure to the latter’s culture was intoxicating, leaving Jews full of both admiration and desire. Among Jewish social elites in Central Europe, that exposure to bourgeois culture occasioned among them a crisis of aesthetic confidence. Self-doubt turned into self-scrutiny, and nearly every aesthetic particularity, corporeal and otherwise, was examined. Ashkenazic accents, languages, cognitive capacities, posture, deportment, and even history itself were examined and evaluated according to a non-Jewish scale of aesthetic worth. In almost all categories, Jews found themselves to be deficient. These beliefs made German Jews hyper-self-conscious, acutely aware of how they sounded, how they looked, and how they carried themselves. The German Enlightenment philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) characterized the dominant intellectual imperative of the age in which he lived when he declared, “Our age is, in especial degree, the age of criticism, and to criticism everything must submit,” while the romantic poet and literary critic Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) pithily echoed Kant, announcing, “One cannot be critical enough.”<sup>16</sup> For German Jews at this time, Schlegel’s dictum might well be paraphrased: “One cannot be self-critical enough.”

What made Jewish self-criticism so acute in Germany has to do with the quest for civic equality and social acceptance. In contrast to developments in France, Jewish emancipation in Germany was not the result of legislative action in the context of political and social revolution. Rather, emancipation in Germany was piecemeal, an uneven process that entailed a carrot-and-stick approach whereby increasing liberty was to be the reward for Jewish self-improvement. Of course “self-improvement” was never a quantifiable category of analysis. When was enough enough? Neither Germans nor Jews really knew the answer. In this environment, appearances, physical as well as moral, counted for much. Outward signs became critical markers of change, and thus German Jews, prior to emancipation, and in fact thereafter, felt themselves to be under surveillance, with Germans looking for signs of positive change and Jews seeking to trumpet the actualization of such.

Of course, Jews have not been the only minority group subject to the watchful, judgmental eye of the majority. Here we can turn with profit to the African American historian, public intellectual, and civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois, for he provides us with a theoretical underpinning that helps explain the responses of German Jews to the cold stare of the majority at the dawn of emancipation. In 1903 Du Bois published his seminal work *The Souls of Black Folk*, wherein he developed his theory of “double

consciousness,” which he defined as “this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.” The consequence of this is that “one ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.”<sup>17</sup> In speaking so poignantly about his own people and their particular suffering, Du Bois gave voice to the dilemma of all minorities seeking acceptance on the one hand while seeking to avoid self-effacement on the other. If we exchange the words “American” and “Negro” for “German” and “Jew,” Du Bois provides us with the critical tools with which to come to a better understanding of the dilemma that manifested itself in what was at times a painful expression of German-Jewish “double consciousness.”

Du Bois was very clear that the “American Negro” did not wish to disappear but rather sought “to merge his double self into a better and truer self.” His was not so much an act of being as one of becoming. It was about fashioning a new identity, one that was composed out of the bifurcated self. The story told in this book maps onto the Du Boisean ideal, for it seeks to explicate the process by which German Jewry sought to remake itself, in response to the self-perception that its aesthetic debasement disqualified it from self-fulfillment and acceptance by the dominant society. What held true for the African American was equally applicable to the German Jew: “He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face. This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius.”<sup>18</sup> For both African Americans and German Jews, the juggling act was made all the more difficult because of the surveillance that comes with “double consciousness.” Excessive scrutiny, or at least the sense that one was being constantly observed, bred an acute self-consciousness.

Over the century or so covered by this book, German Jews underwent a radical aesthetic transformation, largely in accordance with new tastes, sensibilities, styles, and fashions. Those changes were determined by many things including then-current theories of language and rhetoric, new musical tastes, emerging architectural styles, the Protestant worship service, the internalization of antisemitic tropes about Jewish physicality, and new ways of writing Jewish history that served to identify those moments in the past when Jews led aesthetically exemplary lives and when they did not.

Across the German-Jewish social and cultural spectrum, the aesthetic transformation was informed by a celebration of all things Sephardic. Our focus is on Ashkenazic perceptions of Sephardic appearance, and we will see how, in both high and vernacular Jewish culture, a portrait was drawn of



both Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews that promoted an image of the former as authentic, desirable, attractive, and worthy of emulation, while the culture of Ashkenaz was most frequently considered regrettable and in need of radical correction. To repeat, this phenomenon did not manifest itself in some form of German-Jewish Kabuki where they pretended to be that which they were not. Their goal was to become the best German Jews they could be. However, what it does mean is that with the dissolution in the eighteenth century of what might be considered a pan-Ashkenazic culture, German Jewry struggled with the felt need to distinguish itself from the rest of Ashkenazic Jewry, namely, their brethren to the East, and they enlisted the Sephardim to help them achieve their liberation.

The relationship of German to Polish Jewry is at the core of our story. Freud coined the term “narcissism of small differences” to describe the process whereby one nation or ethnic group distinguishes itself from their nearly identical neighbors by highlighting distinctions between the groups. For German and Eastern European Jews, what had been a shared religious culture, a shared vernacular language (Yiddish), as well as commercial and familial links, began to unravel in the late 1700s, and the uneven, sometimes slower, sometimes faster, but unmistakable trend toward differentiation and separation set in. To be sure, there had always been regional differences in religious customs, foods, and pronunciation of Hebrew and Yiddish between German Jewry and Eastern European Jewry, as well as within those respective communities. However, it is also true that in the realm of Jewish folk culture, those differences never impeded mutual intelligibility. Indeed, depending on geographic location, German Jews retained many Eastern European Jewish traits, while Eastern European Jewish culture exhibited many Western forms. This syncretism continued into the twentieth century. As historian Steven Lowenstein has observed, “Whatever the differences, German and Polish Jewish folk cultures were more similar to each other than either were to the folk cultures of Jews in southern Europe or in the Muslim world.”<sup>19</sup>

However, as German and Eastern European Jewry began to drift apart in the eighteenth century, the two most visible markers of that separation, the advent of Hasidism—which never appeared as a mass movement in Germany and, by contrast, swept Poland by storm—and the continued use of Yiddish in Eastern Europe along with its slow but steady abandonment in Germany and the adoption of German in its stead, meant the emergence of two distinct forms of Ashkenazic culture.<sup>20</sup> Two further developments brought the real differences between German and Polish Jewry into sharp relief. They were the adoption of Gentile high culture among German Jews and their greater economic success, which saw them rise into the middle class, while the majority of Eastern European Jews did not aspire to Polish

culture and remained mired in poverty, just as Poland itself did not enjoy the level of affluence found in the West. What had once been the narcissism of small differences now became that of big ones, as German Jews became vigilant practitioners of a cultural politics of Jewish difference. In fact they brought into microcosmic relief an intra-Jewish version of the larger syndrome Du Bois described. However, where the analogy meets its limits is in the fact that in myriad ways, both subtle and obvious, by constantly reaffirming the distinction between German and Polish Jewry, I would argue, they inadvertently instantiated the connectedness between the two communities.

The most important distinction was that of language, a theme that will recur throughout this study. The proximity of German to Yiddish explains what made the Jewish enlighteners of eighteenth-century Berlin disparage it so, leaving behind them a sad legacy of prejudice. It is also what made them such staunch advocates of German. For other large Ashkenazic communities that traced their roots to Eastern Europe, be it Anglo or American Jewry, English was so far removed from Yiddish that the relationship between the respective speakers of these languages was not especially fraught. By contrast, the shame and embarrassment that German Jews felt toward Eastern European Jews, feelings that were exacerbated by the physical proximity of Germany to Poland and the presence of Eastern European Jews in Germany, were especially keen. The fear that one's roots would be uncovered by the presence of Eastern European Jews in Germany, or just the very reminder that there had once been a pan-Ashkenazic culture, led to discomfort and protestations of difference that were heard more frequently and more loudly in Germany than elsewhere.<sup>21</sup>

The insecurity born of shared culture and in many cases origins, and made most manifest by language, was extended to other expressive forms, principally body language. The Herderian idea that the *Volksgeist*, or spirit of the nation, resides in language meant that the way one spoke was indicative of much more than a mere mode of communication. Some of the cultural critics we will encounter in this study operated from the premise that language reflected inner character and morality. It also reflected the extent to which Jews interacted with the world beyond the Jewish community. Indeed language was constitutive as well as determinative of aesthetics. Since these ideas appeared around the same time that the quest for Jewish emancipation in Germany began, aesthetics came to play a central role in the cultural transformation of German Jewry.

It was in the context of the split between German and Polish Jewry that German Jewry turned to the medieval Jews of the Iberian Peninsula, for their overall aesthetic bespoke a Jewish community whose sounds, appearance, comportment, and levels of cognition revealed a *Volksgeist* that had been forged from a sparkling yet strong alloy of Jewish and Spanish culture.

It was an experiment that had taken place in the laboratory that was Muslim Spain, where, it was believed, Jews, Muslims, and Christians thrived together in harmony.

The adulation of the Sephardim emerges during the era of romanticism and may be considered a central element of that movement's early Jewish incarnation. Romanticism spanned the period from the late eighteenth century until the 1830s and challenged some of the fundamental tenets of the Enlightenment, especially the latter's devotion to neoclassicism and its negative view of religious enthusiasm, as well as history—in particular the Middle Ages, which it dismissed as a time of barbarism and ignorance. It rejected the Enlightenment's drive to understand natural law, politics, and social relations in terms of systems, order, hierarchies, and classification, as static entities untouched by history. Instead, romanticism stressed a dynamic world of possibility, progress, intuition, and the importance of history.<sup>22</sup> It also cultivated what scholars of romanticism refer to as "sensibility," a term used to denote "sensitivity or emotional responsiveness, bordering on sentimentalism."<sup>23</sup> However, despite these real differences, romanticism actually shared important features with the Enlightenment: it was not an enemy of reason; it likewise sought to weed out superstition; it opposed religious obscurantism as well as political injustice and disorder. Among German Jews, the cultural, economic, social, and religious transformations that began in the late eighteenth century and took hold by the mid-nineteenth were rooted in reason, a devotion to history, and a profound desire to do away with the discrimination Jews faced in nearly every sphere of life.

A notoriously difficult term to define with any precision, "romanticism" has accrued as many definitions as there have been commentators on the subject.<sup>24</sup> The philosopher Isaiah Berlin has given us numerous working definitions of romanticism, including this particularly apt one: "It is nostalgia, it is reverie, it is intoxicating dreams, it is sweet melancholy and bitter melancholy, solitude, the sufferings of exile, the sense of alienation, roaming in remote places, especially the East, and in remote times, especially the Middle Ages."<sup>25</sup> For those German Jews who sought a palatable, domesticated, and glorious medieval past, Iberian Jewry answered their need for "intoxicating dreams" that emanated from the East, and certainly no Jewish community better conjured up positive feelings of "nostalgia" or more completely exemplified "the sufferings of exile" than did the Sephardim.

German Jews do not appear to have been swept up by romanticism, nor did they produce any romantic poets or artists—Heinrich Heine may perhaps be considered an exception to the rule. What can be claimed is that to sing the praises of Sephardic beauty to the extent that German Jewry did and simultaneously decry the aesthetics of Ashkenazic culture was to ride the wave of intense emotion characteristic of romanticism's excesses. These feelings first took hold among Jewish elites during the Berlin Haskalah, or

Jewish Enlightenment, which, while not a romantic movement *tout court*, nonetheless emerged at the time of German romanticism's first incarnation, which lasted from approximately 1760 to 1830.<sup>26</sup> The Berlin Haskalah was characterized by a blending of Enlightenment and certain romanticist sensibilities and tendencies, and it was with what has been called "Sephardism" that both inclinations are brought into starkest relief.<sup>27</sup>

In the realms of religious and social life the program of the Haskalah sought, like the Enlightenment, to cultivate taste, beauty, and the senses with a view to the promotion of virtue, goodness, refinement, respectability, and reason. As we will see, the maskilim and those like-minded thinkers who followed in their wake repeatedly ascribed these qualities to the Sephardim, almost as if they were congenital. For example, a striking characteristic of the Berlin Haskalah was its cult of reason. Order, tempered emotions, and logic were repeatedly invoked to praise Spanish Jewry, indict Polish-Jewish culture, and serve as aspirational goals for German Jewry. In this respect, the Sephardim served as a Jewish analogue to the way figures of the German Enlightenment viewed the Greeks, whom they glorified as the epitome of reason, controlled passions, and beauty.<sup>28</sup> Beyond this, the way maskilim depicted the Sephardim allowed Iberian Jewry to be presented as ideal intermediaries, Jews who were capable of breaking down the age-old Hellenic-Hebraic divide. The other romantic feature of the Haskalah that played a leading role in the formation of modern German-Jewish culture was its profound and unprecedented attraction to Jewish history. The cult of the Sephardic Jews was made possible only thanks to the Haskalah's appreciation of the Jewish past and the development of a sentimental, pathos-filled attachment to Jewish suffering, a trope that repeatedly manifested itself into the early twentieth with German-Jewish culture's highly confected representations of Spanish Jewry.

There was one further component that set in motion the new Jewish sensibilities to be explicated in this study, and it is directly linked to the changing intellectual and political culture of the late 1790s. The generation of romantics in Germany, which included the poets Novalis and Hölderlin, the theologian Schleiermacher, the philosopher Schelling, and the Schlegel brothers, both poets and philosophers, had become disillusioned with the French Revolution, of which they had been staunch supporters. However, the unending violence and instability provoked a change of attitude, and the romantics began to assert the "need for some form of elite rule, for a more educated class to direct and control the interests and energies of the people."<sup>29</sup> According to the romantics, the problems in France were brought about by the fact that there had been no prerevolutionary preparation of hearts and minds that would make it possible for the people to cope with the radically new social and political conditions of postregicide France. Germany could not be allowed to go the way of its chaotic neighbor, and

the romantics believed that the way to introduce social change—to which they were still committed—while maintaining stability in Germany was through education, the goal of which was to inculcate virtue, self-control, refinement, and a sense that actions undertaken for the greater good should trump individual desire. The educational program to promote these qualities was called *Bildung*, a term denoting the all-encompassing cultivation of the self through the acquisition of education, critical reason, good taste, and an appreciation of beauty.<sup>30</sup> For the poet and playwright Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), who, Gershom Scholem remarked, had an “incalculable” impact on “the formation of Jewish attitudes towards Germany,” “Beauty alone confers happiness on all, and under its influence every being forgets that he is limited.”<sup>31</sup> With Schiller as their guide, the march of German Jews into modernity would be, among other things, a quest for beauty.

The changing attitudes of the romantics and their prescription to avoid political and social calamity in Germany were coterminous with the Haskalah and came to inform it. As the distinguished historian George Mosse observed, “*Bildung* and Enlightenment joined hands during the period of Jewish emancipation; they were meant to complement each other.”<sup>32</sup> *Bildung*, like any ennobling imperative, is by definition a transcendent force, capable of creating potential unity and productive tranquillity among diverse peoples. If Herder believed that the acquisition of *Bildung* could contribute to the elimination of differences between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, German Jews believed deeply that it could surely erase any nonreligious barriers that separated them from Germans. Proceeding from the assumption that Jews were deficient in terms of virtue and refinement, the maskilim were that self-appointed vanguard that would bring *Bildung* to the people. In their writings they repeatedly referred to *shlemut*, the Hebrew word for “perfection” or *Vollkommenheit*, its German equivalent. The attainment of an impossible-to-achieve perfection, or at least the adoption of it as a noble and ongoing exercise, was the intended goal. If, as they diagnosed, the Jews were suffering from an acute case of imperfection, the maskilim saw in romanticism’s ideals combined with Haskalah and *Bildung* a curative elixir.

Just as the dating of Jewish history does not easily map onto the dating schema for general European history, so too Jewish romanticism is not exactly coterminous with the European variant nor does it share all of its features, even its most important ones. The aesthetic preference we will examine in this study lingered on long after the romantic era had ended. The preference persisted, first, because the era of Jewish romanticism exceeds the chronology of the European romantic movement by some decades, and, second, because the protracted struggle for Jewish emancipation in Germany, which officially ended in 1871, abuts the emergence of the anti-semitic movement, which in turn gave rise to a more robust expression of

Jewish self-assertion.<sup>33</sup> (In Eastern Europe that self-assertion manifested itself in Jewish nationalism.) At this political and cultural moment we will see that the adoration of the Sephardic Jews, initially a trope of German-Jewish self-realization, becomes one of self-defense, and, finally, an important article of faith for Zionism's founding Ashkenazic fathers, mostly, though not all, from Eastern Europe.

No one better exemplifies the romantic tendency to venerate the Sephardim in the service of all three goals than Theodor Herzl. With his vivid imagination and highly developed theatrical sense, this Budapest-born resident of Vienna constructed for himself an imaginary lineage, wherein he claimed to be the descendant of Sephardic Jews. He told several versions of the story. In one, he confided to the English Zionist Jacob de Haas that his paternal great-grandfather, a rabbi named Loebel, had been forcibly converted to Catholicism. After fleeing the Iberian Peninsula, Loebel emerged in Constantinople, whereupon he returned openly to Judaism. Just prior to his death in 1904, Herzl told the Hebrew author Reuven Brainin that he was descended from one of two Jewish brothers, both of whom had risen high in the ranks of the Catholic clergy. When sent on an important mission outside the country, they decided to make their departure a permanent one and embraced the faith of their ancestors. For his own sense of self and his own self-image Herzl concocted this fantasy wherein Loebel was no longer the Slovenian Jew of reality but the Spanish Jew of Herzl's desires. Not only was this move a singular act of artifice; it must also be seen in relation to Herzl's extremely negative and frequently disgraceful descriptions of Eastern European Jews. That is to say, Jews not unlike the ones from whom he was descended.<sup>34</sup> Having absorbed the dominant stereotypes about Jews circulating in the Vienna of his day, Herzl saw in his make-believe past a way to escape the taunts and jibes that he could pretend were reserved for the *Ostjuden*.

With his regal bearing, his piercing black eyes, olive skin, and thick beard, Herzl had the look of a leader, a Jewish leader. Years later, David Ben-Gurion, first prime minister of the State of Israel, recalled his reaction to Herzl's appearance: "One glimpse of him and I was ready to follow him there and then to the land of my ancestors."<sup>35</sup> It was an image Herzl did much to cultivate. Herzl was portrayed, whether by friend, foe, or himself, as a Jew with exotic origins and flamboyant designs: as a biblical figure; or as a latter-day Shlomo Molcho—the sixteenth-century Portuguese mystic of Marrano parentage who declared himself the Messiah—or Shabbtai Zvi, the seventeenth-century false messiah from Izmir, both of whom were Sephardic Jews. Herzl longed to be anything but an ordinary Ashkenazic Jew from Central Europe.<sup>36</sup>

In terms of its specific features, the German-Jewish romanticism of which we speak here differed from the larger European movement of the same name,

especially in terms of the latter's impact on European nationalism. Where, for example, European nationalists of the later nineteenth century looked to the distant past and linked themselves to their ancient forebears, the myth of Sephardic supremacy was an Ashkenazic invention and it was one that highlighted distance and difference from the object of their paeans and not linkage to this mythical culture. In fact, what we might call the Sephardicist turn was built upon what was at times brutal Ashkenazic self-rejection. Its fundamental claim was that because they had lived in backward, medieval, Christian Europe, with its endless cycle of torment, debasement, and persecution, Ashkenazic Jews had been physically and psychologically scarred. Indeed, it was claimed that they even bore the aesthetics and physicality of a people cowed by history. The Sephardic Jews, who were said to have lived freely, thriving in Muslim Spain, gave birth to a superior culture and, in contrast to the Ashkenazim, evinced the proud carriage of a people that flourished in this propitious medieval environment.

Among Jews, romanticism, which emphasized instinct and emotion, was never permitted to supersede the Enlightenment values German Jewry so deeply cherished. Instead, Jews combined certain aspects of romanticism with an unshakable commitment to the culture of the Enlightenment, praising the Sephardim as an exemplary Jewish community. With its rationalist philosophers, secular Hebrew poets, prominent courtiers, and distinguished rabbis, medieval Iberian Jewry provided an ideal social and cultural template for a German Jewry that was becoming increasingly cognizant of its own ascent out of the ghetto. However, beset with doubts and anxieties occasioned by the antisemitic backlash that came about in the wake of Jewish embourgeoisement and success, many German Jews internalized claims about Jewish difference, cultural inferiority, and even bodily deformity.

In the political realm the Sephardism of German-Jewry was employed in the service of a liberal, cultural, and social politics. Unlike Christian romanticism, Jewish romantic sensibilities in Germany were used to bolster not Jewish nationalism but, in fact, its very opposite. Sephardism was intended to promote an ideology of Jewish acculturation, accommodation, and compatibility with the majority.

A study such as this naturally leads us into an engagement with the subject of orientalism, another theme that runs through this book. The term was popularized by Edward Said in his influential study *Orientalism* (1978). Taking his cue from Foucault, Said claimed that orientalism is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."<sup>37</sup> But he is able to formulate such a sweeping indictment only by employing a limited definition of orientalism and by ignoring entire episodes within the intellectual history of the modern East-West encounter that do not conveniently conform to Said's orientalist-as-imperialist thesis.

One episode is that of German orientalism. For Said, the determining motive behind the orientalist enterprise was imperialism, hence his focus on Britain and France, the two principal colonial powers in the Middle East. Because it lacked significant colonial holdings, Said excluded Germany from his purview.<sup>38</sup> In fact, Germany came to lead the field of orientalist scholarship, proof that orientalism and imperialism as understood by Said simply did not need each other. Rather, as Suzanne Marchand, the leading historian of German orientalism, has conclusively demonstrated, that country created a field of Oriental studies that was largely motivated by the search for Christian religious origins and not the desire for imperial domination.<sup>39</sup> Germany also developed a rich orientalist literary canon that can be read as a challenge to any singular, monolithic definition of orientalism. Indeed, scholars of orientalism, especially if their focus is Germany, prefer to speak of “orientalisms.”<sup>40</sup> One aim of this study is to expand our conception of orientalism, to indicate that just as it may have been, in some instances, an intellectual adjunct to imperialism, it was not always that and, for most genuine orientalists, especially German ones, never that. Many orientalists pursued their work long before the era of imperialism properly began, or if they worked during its heyday, they were often among the most dogged opponents of imperialist adventurism.

This brings us to the second episode in the history of orientalism that was left out of Said’s intervention and that of subsequent scholarship on the history of orientalism, namely, its Jewish dimension. It is the argument of the present study that the German-Jewish Sephardicists, whether communal leaders, anthropologists, novelists, scholars of Islam or of the history of Jews in Muslim lands, serve as significant counterexamples to the typical orientalist imagined by Said. For Central European Jewish scholars, in particular, orientalism did not function as an intellectual justification for a political system of domination. Rather, it was often celebratory and inspirational, for Jewish orientalism more often than not entailed a valorization of the Muslim Other. This was because, for German-Jewish orientalists, like their Christian counterparts, orientalism was often tantamount to a search for religious roots, for authenticity, and for Oriental role models.

Among Jewish orientalists, this undertaking, rather than a straightforward means of asserting colonial, corporeal, and cultural authority, could be, as this book will demonstrate, a profound expression of one’s own cultural anxiety and insecurity, one that could provoke deep-seated fears of inferiority and, ironically, Jewish chauvinism at the same time. Not only did the German-Jewish orientalists come from a country without a significant empire, but as Jews, they were entirely marginal to the official political and academic structure. They were not, in other words, agents of the state, and their scholarship did not serve its ends. In fact, their professional marginality as well



as the overall social marginality of German Jewry served as an impetus for their approach to Islam and to the Jews who hailed from that environment. The example of the German-Jewish orientalists we will encounter, especially in chapter 5, and the Sephardic triumphalists who appear throughout this study demonstrates that knowledge does not always equal power, especially state power.

I will argue that the Ashkenazic orientalists who promoted the cult of the Sephardic Jews did not look at the Muslim world and its subjects as ripe for imperial domination, but, rather, as a place from which contemporary Europe could learn lessons about tolerance and acceptance. According to the Ashkenazic Sephardicists, it was on the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule that the Jews of Spain flourished as they had nowhere else in the history of European Jewish settlement. It is for this reason that nineteenth-century German-Jewish historians were among the most energetic promoters of an image of Muslim Spain's *convivencia*, that harmonious and productive interaction among Muslims, Christians, and Jews.<sup>41</sup> The image that these scholars painted was of an open political and cultural environment that made for Jews who were proud, dignified, respectable, and, indeed, physically beautiful.

There is no denying that the Sephardim proved alluring to German Jews, that they were possessed of a certain "mystique," and there is a well-established albeit brief historiographical paper trail that attests to this phenomenon. One of the first to identify this was the historian of medieval German Jewry Ivan Marcus. In a 1985 essay entitled "Beyond the Sephardic Mystique," Marcus noted the role played by nineteenth-century German-Jewish historians in touting the supposed superiority of Spanish Jewry. Moreover, he also incisively pointed to the unfortunate persistence in scholarship of mythologizing medieval Sephardic history. After Marcus, the distinguished historian of German Jewry Ismar Schorsch penned "The Myth of Sephardic Superiority" (1989). In this concise yet rich article, Schorsch noted that "with the advent of emancipation in Central Europe . . . German Jews came to cultivate a lively bias for the religious legacy of Sephardic Jewry forged centuries before on the Iberian Peninsula." Both before and after Schorsch, other scholars have examined one or another of the categories that he touched upon in that important essay. In 1981, the German architectural historian Harold Hammer-Schenk's monumental two volumes on the history of synagogues in Germany contained a relatively brief but valuable section on the neo-Moorish synagogues that began to appear in the nineteenth century. His work was followed in 1984 by the more detailed study of Islamic style elements in German synagogue architecture by Hannelore Künzl. More recently, literature scholars Florian Krobb, Jonathan Hess, and Jonathan Skolnik have focused their attention

on nineteenth-century Sephardic-themed German-Jewish fiction. However, with the exception of Carsten Schapkow's German-language volume on the place of the Sephardim in modern German-Jewish culture, most studies of this general subject have been brief and schematic or the work of one scholarly specialist or another. Despite the undeniable value of such works, this is a story best told comprehensively and against the larger backdrop of modern German history as well as modern Jewish history, as it unfolded in both Central and Eastern Europe. However, there is more involved than just this. In what follows I seek to demonstrate that German Jewry did not so much "cultivate a lively bias for the religious legacy of Sephardic Jewry," as Schorsch claimed, as it cultivated a lively bias for the aesthetic and thus secular legacy of Sephardic Jewry. What most attracted the attention of German Jewry was its own invention of Sephardic beauty, which it imaginatively constructed as a reflection of Jewish history, "as it actually happened," to paraphrase the great German historian Leopold von Ranke.<sup>42</sup>

To provide the broadest perspective on the Sephardicist dimension of German-Jewish culture, this study will consider a variety of orientalist cultural productions, among them the work of Enlightenment-era Jewish intellectuals and nineteenth-century anthropologists, ethnographers, synagogue architects, novelists, and historians. Chapter 1 addresses one of the most obvious and, for German Jews in particular, vexing makers of Jewish identity, namely, language. Beginning in the eighteenth century among a small elite and then expanding into the nineteenth century among all classes of German Jews, an obsessive concern with and indeed fear of Yiddish became a central element of what it meant to be a German Jew. This is not the principal subject matter of this chapter but it was a constant presence when it came to the Jewish Enlightenment's attitude toward Hebrew. The Haskalah venerated that language, and we see in Berlin in the 1780s the first important steps toward turning Hebrew into a secular language. That process begat a discussion about the correct way to pronounce Hebrew. This chapter examines this discourse, one wherein advocacy for the Sephardic over the Ashkenazic mode of pronunciation—the latter was perceived as too reminiscent of the sound of Yiddish—was one of the earliest expressions of the Sephardicist turn among German Jews.

Language, it was believed, reflected inner moral health and outward physical appearance. Chapter 2 takes up this theme as we examine moral, behavioral, and physical descriptions of Sephardim and Ashkenazim as depicted by maskilim, as well as anthropologists and ethnographers. Taken together, these various discourses lent themselves to the widespread representation of Sephardim as the most physically beautiful Jews; moreover, such depictions were frequently juxtaposed with negative descriptions of Ashkenazim, especially those from Eastern Europe. While they sometimes

borrow heavily from the then-current tropes of racial antisemitism, they depart from the biological determinism inherent in that discourse and suggest instead that even the least attractive of Ashkenazic Jews can, with the right education and speaking the right language, shed their loathsome characteristics and become beautiful like the Sephardic Jews of the Middle Ages and the German Jews of late. Beauty and language are linked in another way. The Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew was considered authentic by many commentators because they claimed, or at least assumed, that the way Iberian Jews pronounced it was closer to its original form than the Ashkenazic accent. A similar argument was made about physical appearance. In this chapter we will see how archaeological evidence depicting ancient Israelites was used to make the claim that there was a physical line of descent from ancient Judea to the medieval *Juderia*.

Chapter 3 continues with the theme of Jewish beauty but moves the discussion from bodies to buildings. From the 1830s to the 1860s, the growth of German cities, the expanding Jewish population, and a loosening of restrictions on the appearance and location of Jewish buildings led to the construction of many new synagogues. Among Germans, urban expansion occasioned a long, complex, and at times bitter debate about the ideal style of German architecture. Jews were implicated in this debate because of their own building boom, and with it we see the appearance of various Oriental architectural styles employed in these new synagogues. This chapter traces the evolution of these various designs, which at first appeared modest and subtle but finally came to full-blown maturity and splendor with the appearance of grand, neo-Moorish synagogues. While such buildings would later come to appear across the world, it is in Germany that they originated, and at a particular moment in architectural history unique to that time and place. These houses of worship were built in an entirely fictitious Sephardic style and were almost always designed by Gentile architects. In the design phase, the plans and rationale for the way these buildings would look were tied to questions of Jewish origins in the Land of Israel, their history in the Diaspora, and the nature of German-Jewish identity.

The final two chapters of the book take up the subject of history writing in two distinct but deeply intertwined genres—the historical novel and historical scholarship. For German Jews these were two new literary forms that emerged almost simultaneously in the nineteenth century, their link personified, for example, by an author like the poet Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), who not only wrote important novellas and poetry centered on Sephardim and Marranos but also was a member of the founding circle of young university students that in 1819 established the Association for Jewish Culture and Scholarship, the first learned society dedicated to researching and writing Jewish history.

In chapter 4 we enter squarely into the realm of German-Jewish popular culture as we see how *belles lettres* contributed mightily to the dissemination of a set of images of Sephardic Jews that became a fixed part of the German-Jewish imagination. For the most part, the Jewish public's view of the Sephardim was shaped by the scores of novels, poems, and short stories that were frequently published in serialized form in Jewish newspapers. Fast-paced adventure stories with vulnerable Jewish damsels who reject the advances of Christian suitors, Marranos who hold true to their faith despite the threat posed by terrifying inquisitors, and Sephardim who resurrect their successful lives in the lands of their dispersion after 1492 are the protagonists of these extremely popular and influential tales.

However, such stories were not mere exercises in romanticization—though that certainly happened—for the depictions of Sephardim were tailored to suit divergent German-Jewish sensibilities. So, for example, where Reform Jews tended to see Marranos as courageous adherents of the faith, Orthodox authors tended to be less forgiving, seeing them as weak and all too easily seduced into remaining in Spain even if it meant apostasy. These differing interpretations notwithstanding, such stories, whether written by Reform or Orthodox authors, agreed on one thing, namely, it was the Catholic Reconquista that had brought devastation upon what had been an ideal community, composed of beautiful, refined, successful Jews, products of their preexpulsion Muslim environment.

Chapter 5 focuses on the representations of Islam and the Spanish-Jewish past as constructed by Jewish historians. Beginning in the 1830s historians started to “package” the notion of a Jewish “Golden Age,” a concept that has enjoyed remarkable staying power, a result of the idea's being promoted simultaneously in popular and academic culture, the one symbiotically reinforcing the other. Here too we will see history written under the influence of the personal religious sensibilities and cultural biases of the historians themselves. Their frequent juxtapositions of Sephardic and Eastern European Jewry, always involving the denigration of the latter, exemplify yet again the powerful hold of Sephardic Jewry over German Jews and the utilitarian uses to which the Iberian-Jewish past could be put. Likewise, the historians' repeated emphasis on the tolerance extended to Jews in the Islamic world was a foil for their hostile feelings about Christianity and the contemporary antisemitic movement. In other words, the orientalism of these pro-Sephardic and pro-Sephardic Ashkenazic Jews formed the basis of a profound critique of the European state.

In the end, I hope to demonstrate how all the German-Jewish Sephardicists we will encounter in this study were engaged in a complex process of orientalist and neo-romantic self-fashioning, wherein they sought to change the aesthetics of German Jewry by lionizing those of the Sephardim

while simultaneously distancing themselves from the majority of their fellow Ashkenazim—the Jews of Poland. The goal of this aesthetic makeover was the promotion not of assimilation but, rather, of acculturation, and the creation of a new form of German-Jewish identity, ironically enough, inspired by a Sephardic model.

## Index



- Abravanel, Don Isaac, 61, 63–64, 202, 214, 255n38
- acculturation, 61, 64, 102, 113, 160; and Abravanel, 63; and beauty, 67; capacity for, 69; and Fishberg, 94, 96; and Gans, 161; and Goldziher, 217, 221; and Graetz, 208, 215–16; and Hungarian Jews, 224; and Kayserling, 96; and Marranos, 170; promotion of, 20; and Rathenau, 99; and Reform Judaism, 135; and Sephardim, 14, 93, 161. *See also* assimilation; cultural integration; culture; emancipation; social acceptance; social integration
- Adler, Nathan, 39
- aesthetics: Arabic as Judaized, 199; and architecture, 112; Baumgarten on, 30–31; and Berlin Neue Synagoge, 158; and bourgeoisie, 4; as discourse of body, 4; and Eastern European Jews, 232, 234; and emancipation, 9; and Friedländer, 34; and German Enlightenment, 30; and German Jewry, 59; and Graetz, 203, 205, 209; and Haskalah, 39; and Hebrew, 31, 38; and Hebrew accent, 42; and Heine, 175, 177; and H. Herz, 61; ideology of, 4; of Jewish peoplehood, 78; judgment vs. production of art in, 44; and language, 7, 9, 21–22, 30–31; and Law, 5; and masculine ideal, 5; and maskilim, 30; and M. Mendelssohn, 31–33, 36, 40, 67; and middle-class/bourgeoisie, 5–6; as narrative, 112; and Neubauer, 89; and physical anthropology, 85; and politics, 4, 5; and purity of biblical Hebrew, 23; response to object in, 44; and self-fulfillment, 7; as sensual cognition, 31; and Sephardim, 1, 4, 53, 61, 66, 162, 163; and social acceptance, 7; and synagogues, 130; and thought, 30–31; and N. Wessely, 40, 43–44; and Zionism, 49. *See also* beauty
- African Americans, 6–7
- Aguilar, Diego d' (Moses Lopes Pereira), 182, 183, 184
- Aguilar, Grace, *Cedar Valley*, 164
- Albo, Yosef, 185
- Alfonso V, 63
- Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (General Journal for Construction), 144
- Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 166, 169, 182, 187
- Alliance Israélite Universelle, 102
- Altmann, Alexander, 37, 38
- Altona, 39, 44
- Americanization, 94, 98
- Amorites, 75, fig. 2.3
- Amsterdam, 80–81, 129, 187
- Andree, Richard, 87
- anthropology, 17, 41, 72, 74, 78
- anthropology, physical (race science), 24, 67, 85–111
- anti-Judaism, 207. *See also* antisemitism
- antiquity, 68–78; authenticity derived from, 131; and Förster, 148–49; Jewish claims to, 68; polychromy in, 137–38; reliefs from, 68–78, 257n62; sculpture from, 74; and Sephardim, 77, 84. *See also* archaeology; Assyria; Egyptians, ancient; Greeks, ancient; history; Israelites, ancient; Near East, ancient; Romans, ancient
- antisemitism, 1, 228, figs. 2.6–2.9; and accusations of crimes, 79; and aesthetics, 78; and Ashkenazim, 83–84; and beauty, 67; and Berlin Neue Synagoge, 159; and Chamberlain, 74–75, 76, 89–90; and Christianity, 19; and emancipation, 12–13; and Geiger, 200; in Germany, 208, 215–16; and Goldziher, 221, 223, 287n157; and Graetz, 207, 208, 215–16; and Heine, 170, 171; in images and depictions, 78, 79–84; internalization of, 7; and Israelites on ancient reliefs, 69; and Jews as aggressive conspirators, 81; and Judt, 96; and Kayserling, 89;

- antisemitism (*continued*)  
and Leroy-Beaulieu, 77; and literature, 135–36; and mass media, 78–79; and negative descriptions of Eastern European Jews, 18; and Oriental connections, 135, 160; and physical anthropology, 87; premodern history of, 79–80; and race and language, 91; racial, 1, 18; and Renan, 219; rise of, 232; and romanticism, 78; and Saxony, 136; and Sephardim, 84; and success of German Jews, 14; and Treitschke, 215; and Wagners, 137; after World War I, 237. *See also* blood libels; persecution; ritual murder  
apostasy: and Abravanel, 64; and Graetz, 207; and Heine, 179, 180; and H. Herz, 61; and Hungarian Jews, 224; and Marranos, 19, 170; and Reform vs. Orthodox Jews, 19. *See also* conversion; Marranos  
Arab Bedouins, 97  
Arabia, 75, 198, 208  
Arabian Jews, 196, 198, 208  
Arabic, 51, 199, 202, 229; and Goldziher, 218, 222, 286n134; and Hebrew, 23; and Maimonides, 62–63  
Arabic classics, 206–7  
Arabic poetry, 218  
Arabs, 257–58n67; and architecture, 128, 148; and E. Auerbach, 72; European criticism of, 196; and European *mission civilisatrice*, 228; and Förster, 148; and Gans, 161; and Goldziher, 218, 225, 228; and Graetz, 209–10; and Hebrew, 199; and Judaism, 208; and origins of Islam, 164; in Palestine, 72, 73; philosophical tradition of, 191; and pointed arch, 130–31; and Renan, 220; and Ruppin, 72, 73; and Zionism, 73. *See also* Islam  
Arab scholars, 191  
Aramaic, 35, 286n134  
archaeology, 68–72, 73, 76–77, 93; and ancient Israelites, 18; and beauty, 67; and Chamberlain, 74–76; and Förster, 148; and Nott, 74. *See also* antiquity  
architecture, 112–60, 164; and aesthetics, 7; and ahistoricity, 117; building materials for, 114; and Förster, 148–49; German, 113, 136; and historicism, 115; institutions for, 114–15; integration of with natural and built environment, 116–17; and Jewish exoticness, 130; Jewish national, 143, 158, 160; and morality, 266n29; Muslim, 128; nineteenth-century European, 114; patrons for, 115; professional societies for, 115; and self-perception, 112; values of, 112  
architecture, elements and styles of, 115; Arab, 154; and baroque monumentality, 151; and basilicas, 126; Biedermeier, 144; Byzantine, 123, 124, 125–26, 129, 134, 136; Christian, 136, 140; classical, 120, 123–24, 125, 128, 134, 138, 150; and domes, 112, 127, 151–52; Eastern, 125; Egyptian, 120, 129, 131, 133, 159; Egyptian Revival movement, 120–23, 124–25; French imperial, 122; Gothic, 114, 120, 123–24, 131, 133, 134, 160, 265n21; Gothic Revival, 158; and horseshoe-arched windows, 131; Islamic, 125, 140, 152; and Islamic arches, 112; medieval, 134; neoclassical, 121, 122, 123; neo-Gothic, 123, 126, 129, 152, 158, 160; neo-Moorish, 16, 18, 110, 112, 117, 126, 128–60; Oriental, 18, 117, 120, 125, 127–28; orientalist, 110, 113, 114, 126; pan-Islamic, 154; and pointed arch, 130–31; and polychromy, 112, 140; and Renaissance arcades, 131; Romanesque, 112, 126, 129, 133, 134, 136, 144, 150, 152, 158, 160; *Rundbogenstil*, 123, 124, 126, 129, 151; and wrought iron, 146  
Arnstein, Fanny von, 34  
art, 30, 31, 79  
Aryans, 77; and Chamberlain, 74, 75–76; and Europeans, 77; and Goldziher, 225; and language, 91; and Renan, 219, 220; Sephardim as Jewish equivalent of, 87  
Asiatic Jews, 108  
assimilation, 20, 98; and Chamberlain, 74; and Friedländer, 97; and Geiger, 200; and German Jews, 93; and German romantic movement, 164; and Heine, 175; and historical novels, 164; and Hungarian Jews, 224; and music, 34; and Philippson, 186; of Polish Jews, 34. *See also* acculturation; discrimination; emancipation; social integration  
Association for Jewish Culture and Scholarship, 18

- Assyria: enameled tiles of, 148; friezes and monuments of, 70, 72, 257n62, figs. 2.1–2.2. *See also* Near East, ancient
- Auerbach, Berthold, 198
- Auerbach, Elias, 72, 93, 94, 108, 262n128
- Aufklärer*, 36
- Austria, 56
- Austro-Hungarian Empire, 148
- autos-da-fé, 172, 227. *See also* Inquisition
- Ba'al Shem Tov (Israel ben Eliezer), 211, 283n84
- Babylonia, 32, 45, 56, 75, 91, 173, 198, 206
- Babylonian myths, 219
- Babylonians, 72
- Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann, 248n60
- Baer, Yitzhak Fritz, 255n38
- Barríos, Daniel Levi de, 187
- Baruch, Chaim Jehuda, 183
- Baruch, Juda, 183
- Baruch, Ruben, 183
- Baruchov (Zionist physician), 73
- Baumgarten, Alexander Gottlieb, 4; *Aesthetica*, 30–31, 37; *Philosophical Meditations*, 30
- Bavaria, 266n30
- Bavarian court, 131
- beauty, 94, 100; appreciation of, 22, 66; and Baumgarten, 30, 31; and Berlin Neue Synagoge, 158; and *Bildung*, 12; of bodies, 53; and Chamberlain, 75, 76; and commitment to Law, 5; and Eastern European Jews, 234; formation of ideas about, 67; and Graetz, 205; of Hebrew, 23, 33, 38, 40, 44; and Heine, 176; and H. Herz, 59, 60; and historians, 191; importance of, 67; invention of Sephardic, 17; and Kant, 38; and language, 18; and Lilien, 106; and M. Mendelssohn, 35; and morality, 38; and music, 37; new model of, 68; and photography, 69; and physical anthropology, 85; and science, 100; and Sephardim, 4, 17, 18, 53, 61, 75, 76, 78, 86, 87, 94–99, 100–102, 108, 110, 234; and N. Wessely, 42; and Winckelmann, 32. *See also* aesthetics
- Beer, Bernhard, 138
- Beethoven, Ludwig van, 233
- Belgium, 103
- belles lettres, 19, 160, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 187. *See also* historical novels; poetry
- Belmonte, Jacob, 187
- Ben-Ari, Nitsa, 163, 272n7
- Ben-Gurion, David, 13
- ben Israel, Menasseh, 61, 80
- Benjamin, tribe of, 88
- Ben-Yehuda, Eliezer, 49–51
- Ben-Ze'ev, Yehuda Leib, 26
- Berlin, 3, 9, 37, 58, 133; Great Synagogue, 265n20; growth of Jewish population in, 116; Heidereutergasse synagogue, 150; Jewish Free School, 34; and M. Mendelssohn, 36; Mitte, 159; Monday Club, 36; music scene in, 34; neo-Moorish-style synagogues in, 129; Notsynagoge (Interims Synagoge), 150; salon culture of, 59; Scholars' Coffeehouse, 36; Singakademie, 34. *See also* Neue Synagoge, Berlin
- Berlin, Isaiah, 10
- Berlin Association of Architects, 150
- Berlin Haskalah: as auditory experience, 21; and Hebrew, 21, 30; ideals of, 11; and language, 21–45; and Polish-Jews, 11; and reason, 11; and romanticism, 10–14; and Sephardim, 11; and N. Wessely, 40. *See also* Haskalah/Jewish Enlightenment
- Bible: and Arabian Jews and Muhammad, 196; book of Lamentations, 173; book of Leviticus, 196; and Christian myths of origin, 77; and Dresden synagogue, 136, 137; and fiction, 167; and Geiger, 200; in German, 32; and German scholarship, 200; and Goldziher, 219, 221, 225; and Graetz, 210; and Hebrew, 23, 24–25, 31; higher criticism of, 69, 192, 197; Luther's translation of, 29; Mendelssohn on, 31–32; and modern Jews, 68; and photography, 69; and prophecy, 201; and Sephardim, 87, 191; as sonic primer, 32; translation of, 32, 213; in Yiddish, 40, 214; and Zunz, 213
- Bibles moralisées*, 79
- biblical laws, 5
- Bildung*, 58, 59, 208, 212; defined, 12. *See also* character; self
- biographical portraits, 61–66
- biological determinism, 18
- Bismarck, Otto von, 154
- Bitzan, Amos, 167
- blood libels, 2, 41, 135. *See also* antisemitism; ritual murder



- Bodian, Miriam, 187  
body, 66–111; and ancient reliefs, 68–78;  
and antisemitism, 78–84; and archaeology,  
68; Ashkenazic, 83–84, 108; beauty of, 53;  
effeminate, 52, 82, 83; and German Jewry,  
59; and M. Mendelssohn, 35; and science,  
84–85; Sephardic, 61, 78, 84; Sephardic  
vs. Ashkenazic, 67–88; as sick, 100; trans-  
formation of, 67. *See also* aesthetics; beauty;  
phrenology; physiognomy  
Bonaparte, Mathilde, 106  
book clubs. *See* reading societies and book  
clubs  
Bopp, Franz, 251n103  
Bordeaux, Sephardic Jews of, 58, 59, 63  
Bourdieu, Pierre, 3  
Brainin, Reuven, 13  
Breslau Jewish community, 280–81n38  
Brighton: Royal Pavilion, 127, 152, 154  
British Jews, 128, 211, 215  
Brit Shalom, 72  
Bromeis, Johann Conrad, 124–25  
Buber, Martin, 233  
Budapest, 13, 216, 217, 223, 226, 227;  
Dohányi synagogue, 152, 224, 225;  
neo-Moorish-style synagogues in, 129;  
Rabbinical Seminary of Budapest, 225  
Bueno, Ephraim, fig. 2.5  
business and commerce, 29, 41–42, 55,  
66, 136  
Buxtorf, Johannes, the Elder, 26  
Byzantine churches, 128  
Byzantine Jews, 206  
Byzantine style. *See* architecture, elements  
and styles of  
Cairo: al-Azhar, 224, 225–26, 228;  
mosques of, 152  
cantillation, 48, 91  
capitalism, 29, 81  
caricature, 78, 79  
Carroll, Lewis, 156  
Catholic Church, 184  
Catholicism, 13, 183, 188, 201  
Catholics, 19, 184, 196, 199–200  
Cauwer, Emil de, *Synagoge in der Oranien-  
burger Straße*, 1865, fig. 3.11  
Central Europe, 83–84, 115, 192; and  
Geiger, 201; and Goldziher, 216; and  
neo-Moorish style, 129; synagogues in,  
128, 129  
Central European Jews, 87, 228–29; and  
archaeology, 69; and beauty, 68; and  
orientalism, 15, 193–94; and self-  
improvement, 54; and Sephardim, 45  
Chamberlain, Houston Stewart, 74–76, 84,  
89–90  
character: and architecture, 123, 128; and  
Chamberlain, 74, 75; and class, 92; as  
deformed by persecution, 66; and Heine,  
177; and historical conditions, 55, 56; and  
interpretation of ancient reliefs, 70; and  
language, 9, 29, 38, 42, 53; national, 9, 29,  
89, 97, 123, 128, 177, 210, 251n103; and  
Neubauer, 89; and outward appearances,  
53; and physical anthropology, 85; and  
physiognomy and phrenology, 252–53n1;  
Semitic, 220; Sephardic, 236; and speech,  
42. *See also* *Bildung*; self  
Chassériau, Théodore, 106  
Choiseul-Gouffier, Marie-Gabriel-Florent-  
Auguste de, 123  
Christian architects, 159  
Christianity, 125; anti-intellectual climate  
fostered by, 202; and antisemitism,  
19; criticism of, 196; as fulfillment of  
Judaism, 131; and Geiger, 199–201,  
227; and German national architectural  
style, 128; and Goldziher, 216, 220,  
227–28; and Gothic architecture, 123;  
and Graetz, 203, 204–5, 206, 215, 227;  
and Hasidism, 206; and Heine, 170, 171,  
179, 180, 206–7; in historical novels,  
171; influences of on Hebrew pronun-  
ciation, 47; and Islam, 136, 201, 206, 207;  
Jewish life under, 204, 207; and Jewish  
orientalists, 193, 194; and Jews as dis-  
cordant noisemakers, 33; and Judaism,  
195, 198, 200–201, 205, 206, 207, 220;  
and myths of origin, 77; and neo-Gothic  
architecture, 129; Oriental and Jewish  
roots of, 69; and orientalism, 15, 195;  
as perfecting Islamic architectural style,  
131; and Prussian Constitution, 135;  
and Renan, 220, 221; and Simonson,  
143; and Adolf Zemplinsky, 183, 184.  
*See also* conversion; *convivencia*  
Christian orientalists, 197  
Christians, 119, 198; discrimination by,  
207, 227; dueling fraternities of, 67; and  
Egyptian Revival movement synagogues,  
120; and Fishberg, 97; and Gans, 161;

- and German Jews, 212; and German Jews as Oriental, 236; and Goldziher, 223; and Graetz, 207; and Hebrew, 31; and Heine, 175; idealized image of, 83; internalization of negative assessments of, 57; intolerance of, 2; and Israelite beauty, 101; and Israelites on ancient reliefs, 68; and Jewish orientalists and historians, 228–29; and masculine ideal, 5; and medieval depictions of Jews, 79; missionary activity of, 193; and neo-Moorish style, 131, 134; in Palestine, 205; and perception of Jews as foreign, 130; persecution by, 14, 41, 56, 207, 212; and physical anthropology, 87; population of in German states, 116; and Reform Judaism, 48; and Rosengarten, 134; and search for ethnic or racial roots, 69; and Sephardim, 162; supersessionism of, 131, 197, 198, 200, 221; and synagogues, 114, 117–18, 160; tolerance of, 231; triumphalism of, 197, 275n45; and Wolf, 65
- churches, 114, 126, 128, 129, 265n21; in Berlin, 150; and Berlin Neue Synagoge, 159; German, 138; and Rosengarten, 126, 133; and synagogues, 118, 125
- class, 58, 90, 92. *See also* middle class/ bourgeoisie; upper class
- clothing/dress, 5–6, 81
- Coenen Snyder, Saskia, 128
- Cologne, Jews of, 116
- colonialism, 15, 193, 227–28, 257–58n67
- commerce. *See* business and commerce
- Congress of Vienna, 203
- Conrad, Lawrence, 219
- Conservative Judaism, 204
- conspiracy, 81
- Constantine, 207
- conversion, 54, 233; forced, 41; and Heine, 179, 180; and H. Herz, 60, 61; and Hirsch, 203; in historical novels, 19, 163, 171; and Löwenstein, 233; and Marranos, 169, 170; and Muhammad, 197; and *Taufepidemie* of 1770–1830, 164; by Adolf Zemlinsky, 183, 184. *See also* apostasy; Marranos
- conversos*, 179, 182; and Heine, 170, 181; in historical novels, 187–88; and Philippson, 186; reintegration by, 188. *See also* Marranos
- convivencia*, 16, 162, 231
- Corbin, Alain, 33
- Correo de Viena, El*, 183, 184
- cosmopolitanism, 66, 193, 208
- Costa, Uriel da, 170
- Council of Nicaea, 207
- cultural integration, 69, 76, 122, 135. *See also* acculturation
- culture, 88–89; and adoption of German, 1; and commerce, 41–42; defection from Jewish, 164; and Dresden synagogue, 138; eradication of defects in, 53; Gans on, 162–63; and Geiger, 199, 201; German, 167, 177, 212; and Germany, 27; and Goldziher, 216; and Graetz, 215; and Heine, 180–81; holistic view of, 233; impact of persecution on, 202; and *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 89; and language, 26, 27, 31, 40, 41; and Leipzig synagogue, 139; and non-Jewish environment, 89; and pleasure reading, 167; and Sephardim vs. Ashkenazim, 88–89; and soul, 92; and *Sulamith*, 65; and synagogues, 113, 122. *See also* acculturation; popular culture
- Curl, James Stevens, 122
- d’Aguilar, Diego, 187
- Dahlberg, Karl von, 122
- Damascus Affair, 135, 175, 276n48
- Darwin, Charles, 70
- David, King, 63, 77, 214
- Delacroix, Eugène, 106
- de Lemos, Benjamin, 60, 61
- Delft tiles, 127
- Delitzsch, Franz, 2, 200, 280n33
- democracy, 62, 141
- de Pinto, Isaac, 54–56, 57–58, 60, 88
- Dessau-Wörlitz, Garden Kingdom of, 118
- Diaspora, 18, 75, 87, 100, 106
- Diderot, Denis, 54, 55, 196
- discrimination, 10, 26, 55, 90; by Christians vs. Muslims, 207, 227; against commercial agents, 55; debilitating effects of, 26, 90; and Grattenauer, 289n12; and loss of Hebrew, 26; and orientalism, 197, 228; Sephardic success despite, 90; by Sephardim, 54. *See also* assimilation; persecution; social acceptance
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 84; *Alroy*, 164

- Dohm, Christian Wilhelm, *On the Civic Improvement of the Jews*, 57, 176, 289n13  
Dresden, 116, 133  
Dresden synagogue, 136–38, 156, fig. 3.5  
Dubno, Solomon, 38  
Du Bois, W.E.B., *The Souls of Black Folk*, 6–7, 9  
duels. See *Mensur* (duel)  
Dutch East India Company, 127
- Eagleton, Terry, 4  
Eastern European Jews, 87, 92, 229; and aesthetics, 232, 234; and beauty, 68, 234; caricatures of, 83–84; in Fishberg, 102, fig. 2.17; and Friedländer, 58, 97; and Geiger, 201–2; and German Jews, 8–9, 232–37; in Germany, 9; and Goldziher, 225; and Graetz, 206, 210; and Herzl, 13; historical depictions of, 191–92; and Jewish orientalists, 194; and Lilien, 106; and migration, 116; and migration to United States, 97; and nationalism, 13; negative descriptions of, 17–18, 191; and neo-Moorish-style synagogues, 129; poverty of, 8–9; and Sephardim, 45, 78, 191; valorization of, 232, 233; and Winz, 232–33; and Yiddish, 8, 58–59; and Zionism, 48; and Zweig, 234–35. See also Hasidism; Polish Jews  
Eastern Jews, 88  
East India Company, 127  
education, 1, 114, 266n30; and Abravanel, 63; and beauty, 18; and *Bildung*, 12; disaffection with, 22; and Ehrenberg, 214; and Goldziher, 223; and Graetz, 205; Jewish critiques of, 196; and language, 28, 29; and maskilim, 40; modernization of, 39–40; and Polish Jews, 57; secular, 62, 63; and social change, 12; and N. Wessely, 39–40; Western, 106; and Zunz, 213. See also *Bildung*; schools  
Egypt, 228  
Egyptians, ancient, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 112, 120, 266n29. See also antiquity  
Egyptian style. See architecture, elements and styles of  
Ehrenberg, Samuel Meyer, 213–14  
Elias, Norbert, 28  
Eliezer, Israel ben. See Ba'al Shem Tov (Israel ben Eliezer)  
Eliot, George, *Daniel Deronda*, 164  
Elizabeth I, 127  
emancipation, 64, 174, 228, 232, 266n29; and aesthetics, 5, 9; and antisemitism, 12–13; and Berlin's Neue Synagoge, 149; and *Bildung*, 12; and British Jews, 128; and Dohm, 57, 289n13; and Egyptian architecture, 120; and Enlightenment, 12, 53; and failed revolutions of 1848–49, 135; in France, 6; and Friedländer, 34, 57; and Geiger, 195, 200, 223; and German Jews, 6, 56, 214, 236, 237; and Goldziher, 223, 224; and Graetz, 203, 210, 223; and Heine, 175; and Herder, 25; and history, 76, 130; and Jewish orientalists, 194; and language, 29; and M. Mendelssohn, 28; and Michaelis, 28; and middle class, 5; and myth of Sephardic superiority, 16; quest for, 1; and Semper, 138; and synagogue architecture, 117, 128, 129. See also acculturation; assimilation; society/social conditions  
Emden, Jacob, 39  
English, 9, 29  
Enlightenment: and beauty, 67; and Berlin Haskalah, 11; and *Bildung*, 12; and de Pinto, 54, 56; and emancipation, 53; and Friedländer, 58; and German Jews, 59; and M. Herz, 59; and Islam, 195; and Jewish orientalists, 229; and language, 28; and M. Mendelssohn, 37, 62; and Muhammad, 195; and music, 37; and romanticism, 10, 14; and sound, 33; and synagogue construction, 118; and Talmudism, 65; and Zionism, 29  
enlightenment: and M. Mendelssohn and language, 26–27  
Erdmannsdorff, Friedrich Wilhelm von, 118  
ethnicity, 68, 82, 163–64. See also race  
ethnography, 17, 77, 81  
Euchel, Isaac, 66  
Europe, 72; building boom in, 114, 128; and Graetz, 208; language and state in, 21, 29; and maskilim, 45; and Moorish style, 129; myths of racial and national origin in, 108; Oriental designs in, 127; persecution in, 14; population growth in, 114; and romanticism, 12, 13–14; and Sephardic texts, 22; social classes in, 162; unity of, 162; and Zionism, 73

- Europeans, 130; cultural and physical differences from, 53; definitions of, 69; and Goldziher, 228; and higher Bible criticism, 69; and Indian culture, 45; Jewish quest for consideration as, 67; and *mission civilisatrice*, 257–58n67; and myths of origin, 77; and negative impression of Jews, 53–54; self-image of, 82; vernaculars of, 23
- Exile, 10, 67; and Abravanel, 64; in Babylon, 32, 75; and Chamberlain, 75; destructive impact of, 211; effects of on Sephardim vs. Ashkenazim, 65; and Hebrew, 23, 25, 26; and Hebrew pronunciation, 32, 211; and Heine, 181; and inhospitable social environment, 41; and poverty of Jewish culture, 26; and Reckendorf, 214; and Sephardic suffering, 10. *See also* suffering
- Ezekiel, 75
- Ezra, Aben, 65
- Fasch, Carl Friedrich Christian, 248n61
- Feiner, Shmuel, 21
- fencing, 67
- Ferdinand and Isabella, 63
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 221
- fin de siècle, 68, 87, 97, 108
- Fingerhut, Karlheinz, 275n45
- Fishberg, Maurice, 96–97, 106, 108; “Jewess in Constantine,” fig. 2.15; “Jewess of Algiers,” fig. 2.12; “Jew in Tunis,” fig. 2.16; *The Jews*, 94–95, 97–99, 100–103, figs. 2.11–2.19, 2.21; “Tunisian Jew,” fig. 2.14
- Fleischer, H. L., 278n1
- Fliess, Hanna Itzig, 34
- Floss synagogue, 119
- folk culture, 8, 164
- folklore, 232
- Forest Roll of Essex, “Aaron Son of the Devil,” 79, fig. 2.4
- Förster, Ludwig, 144, 147, 148–49, 152
- Foucault, Michel, 14
- France, 6, 15, 27, 28, 103, 114, 127, 202, 206
- Fränkel, David, 250n96
- Frankel, Zacharias, 204
- Frankfurt am Main, 116, 175
- Frankfurt Beit Din, 39
- Frankfurt (Reform) synagogue, 122–23
- Frankl, Ludwig August, “History of Diego d’Aguilar,” 182–83
- Franz Joseph, 144
- Franzos, Karl Emil, *The Jews of Barnow*, 210–11
- fraternities, 67
- Frederick William IV, 150
- French, 29
- French Jews, 184–85, 211
- French painters, 106
- French Revolution, 11
- Freud, Sigmund, 8
- Freudenberger, Moses Wolf, 216
- Freytag, B. F., 194
- Friedländer, David, 34–35, 56–59, 248n67, 253–54n12; and Fishberg, 97; and Heine, 176, 177; and M. Herz, 59, 60; *On the Improvement of the Israelites in the Kingdom of Poland*, 176; and Kayserling, 92; and M. Mendelssohn, 63; and Neubauer, 89; and Reform Judaism, 59; and N. Wessely, 40
- Frumkin, Israel Dov, 49–50
- Galician Jews, 40, 105, 116, 144, 210, fig. 2.13
- Galician peasants, 253–54n12
- Galileans, 205–6
- Gall, Franz Josef, 252–53n1
- Galton, Sir Francis, 70, 89
- Gans, Eduard, 161–63, 164, 186
- Gardt, Andreas, 28–29
- Gärtner, Friedrich von, 131
- Geiger, Abraham, 165, 192, 194–202, 220, 221, 228, 280n28; and Delitzsch, 200, 280n33; and Goldziher, 218, 221, 223, 227; and Graetz, 205, 281n54; and Islam, 288n162; *Judaism and Its History*, 199; letters to Theodor Nöldeke, 199–200; *Was hat Muhammad aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, 194–95; and Zunz, 280n34
- Geiger-Titkin affair, 201, 280–81n38
- Genz, Ismael, “The Ghetto Bend,” 102–3, fig. 2.18
- George IV, 127
- Gerhard, Anselm, 33
- German, 27–29; adoption of, 1, 8; and Dresden synagogue, 138; and Edict of Toleration, 40; and German Jews, 59, 214; and Goldziher, 218; and Graetz,

- German (*continued*)  
209; and Heine, 177; and Jewish business, 29; Jewish command of, 33; and language reforms, 28–29; and Leibniz, 27; and M. Mendelssohn, 30, 37, 209; and Polish Jews, 34–35; and scientific and philosophical discourse, 29; and Semitic race, 91; sense of inferiority about, 27; sound of, 27; and *Sulamith*, 65; suppleness of, 27; translation of Bible into, 213; translation of Pentateuch into, 32; as vernacular, 58; and Yiddish, 9, 91; and Zunz, 212–13. *See also* High German
- German architecture, 113, 136
- German culture: community shut off from, 212; and Friedländer, 177; harmony with, 167; and Heine, 177
- German Enlightenment, 11, 30
- German history, 168
- German hymns, 47–48
- German Jews: and Abravanel, 64; adoption of Gentile high culture among, 8; and aesthetics, 6; and architecture, 112–13; as assimilationists, 93; as becoming German, 158, 159, 214–16, 236, 237; and *Bildung*, 59; and bodily perfection, 59; Christian maltreatment of, 41; and Christians, 212; and classical antiquity, 59; as debased and degraded, 56; and Eastern European Jews, 232–37; Eastern European Jews as distinct from, 8–9; economic success of, 8; emancipation of, 6, 12–13, 56, 214, 237; and Enlightenment, 59; and Enlightenment vs. romanticism, 14; and Franzos, 211; Friedländer on, 57–58, 59, 60–61; and Gans, 161; and Geiger, 202; and German, 8, 59, 214; and Germans, 12; and Goldziher, 218; and Graetz, 206, 209, 210, 215; and Heine, 181, 207; and history, 192; and institutions, 212; intermarriage by, 93, 94; and invention of Sephardic beauty, 17; and language, 58, 212; and Marranos, 170, 174–75, 188; materialism and self-satisfaction of, 235; medieval, 162; in middle class, 8; as modern, 231; and narcissism of small differences, 8; and occidentalization vs. orientalization, 1–2; as Oriental, 236; and orientalism, 15–16, 195, 207; and Orthodox Judaism, 214, 236; persecution of, 41, 212; and Philippson, 186; and Polish Jews, 1, 8–9, 20, 57–59, 60–61, 66, 214, 231, 234–35; and popular culture, 214; and rabbinate, 212; and Reckendorf, 214; religious freedom of, 174; religious practice of, 58; and schools, 212, 213; and secular culture, 59; sense of uniqueness of, 58; and Sephardim, 3, 9, 14, 59, 61, 236, 237, 288–89n1; success of, 14, 231, 232; and symbolic capital, 3–4; transformation of, 208, 213, 214–15, 231, 232; and Treitschke, 215; as visible social presence, 174–75; and Winz, 233; and Yiddish, 17, 58, 214, 236; and Zunz, 212–13; and Zweig, 234–35
- German Middle Ages, 212
- German music, 59. *See also* music
- German national consciousness, 163
- German orientalism, 196, 197, 198
- German-Polish Jews, 88
- German romanticism, 11, 164
- Germans: and German Jews, 12; and Graetz, 207; identity of, 123; Jews as becoming, 158, 159, 214–16, 236, 237
- German theater, 33
- German unification, 149
- Germany: antisemitism in, 208, 215–16; as antithesis of Muslim Spain, 174; arcane legal and chancery argot of, 29; attachment of Jews to, 232; building boom in, 116; Byzantine style in, 125–26, 129; Christian population of, 116; cities of, 116; citizenship in, 200; cityscapes of, 113; as culturally backward, 27; decline of, 216; Eastern European Jews in, 9; and educated bourgeoisie, 29; Egyptian-style synagogues in, 120–23, 124–25, 129; eighteenth-century illustrated texts in, 81; emancipation in, 6, 12–13; and Fishberg, 94; and Graetz, 216; and Hasidism, 59; and Heine, 193; and historians, 192; intermarriage in, 93, 262n19; Jewish population in, 116; Jewish reading and writing practices in, 165; and Jews as discordant noisemakers, 33; Jews as integral part of past of, 158; language reforms in, 28–29; and national architectural style, 123, 124, 127, 128, 129; Nazi, 64, 231; neo-Moorish synagogues in, 110, 117, 128–43, 149–59;

- and Oriental architecture, 127–28; and orientalism, 15, 195; persecution of Jews in, 202; and Reform Judaism, 59; and rise of new territorial and administrative structures, 29; Romanesque-style synagogues in, 129; and *Rundbogenstil*, 124; Second Reich, 149, 232; small cultural universe of, 41; stand-alone synagogues in, 265n21; urbanization in, 116; *Verjudung* (Jewification) of, 159; Yiddish in, 8
- Gesenius, Wilhelm, *Hebräische Grammatik*, 47
- Gessinger, Joachim, 28
- ghettos, 14, 72, 175; demolishing of, 175; Jews of, 102–3, 110; and Lilien, 106; and literature, 236; medieval Jews as children of, 162
- Gibb, H.A.R., 285n114
- Gobineau, Arthur, comte de, *The Inequality of the Races*, 73–74
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 172
- Goitein, Shlomo Dov, 218
- Goldziher, Ignaz, 192, 205, 216–28, 261n110; *The Essence and Evolution of Judaism*, 218, 223; *History of Classical Arabic Literature*, 228; and Islam, 284n103; and language, 286n134; *Lectures on Islam*, 218; *Der Mythos bei den Hebräern* (Mythology among the Hebrews), 219, 225, 286n127; “The Progress of Islamwissenschaft in the Last Thirty Years,” 219–20; and Renan, 286n127, 287n157; *Sikhat Yitzhak* (Isaac’s Discourse), 221
- Gospels, 195
- Gothic face, 79
- Gothic style. *See* architecture, elements and styles of
- Gottlieb, Maurycy, 106
- Graetz, Heinrich, 165, 192, 203–11, 214–16, 220, 228, 261n110; and antisemitism, 215–16; and Christianity, 215; and Geiger, 281n54; *Gnosticism and Judaism*, 203; and Goldziher, 216, 217, 221, 223, 225, 227; and Hegel, 282n64; *History of the Jews*, 204, 205, 208, 211, 215; *Popular History of the Jews*, 204; and Treitschke, 215; and Yiddish, 217, 283n84
- Granada, Alhambra palace, 134, 137, 144
- Grattenauer, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich, 289n12
- Great Britain, 27, 103, 274n30; Egyptian Revival movement in, 120; Jews in, 128; language reforms in, 28; Oriental designs in, 127, 128; and orientalism, 15
- Great Men of the Nation series, 61–66
- Greek, 27
- Greeks, ancient, 11, 32, 122, 123, 138, 180, 266n29, 266n32
- greeting cards, fig. 2.8
- Grizovsky, Yehuda, 51–52
- Grunwald, Max, 77, 232, 268n55, 283n93
- Guggenheimer, Joseph, 216
- Gumpertz, Aaron Salomon, 35–36
- gymnastics, 67, fig. 2.6
- Haas, Jacob de, 13
- Halevi, Judah, 2, 23, 32, 37, 61, 72, 168, 184, 185, 199, 209; *Kuzari*, 25
- Halle-Wolfssohn, Aaron, 247n45
- Hamburg, 37, 44, 116; neo-Gothic synagogue in, 158; Reform Temple, 47–48; Sephardic community in, 39
- Ha-Me’assef* (The Gatherer), 61, 62, 63–64, 65, 66, 164
- Hammer-Schenk, Harold, 16
- Hanau, Shlomo Zalman, 24
- Hapsburg Empire, 116
- Haramati, Shlomo, 251n112
- Harsdörffer, Georg Philipp, 27
- Harshav, Benjamin, 52, 251n112
- Hartmann, Martin, 219
- Hasidic tales, 233, 236
- Hasidim, 53; and Buber, 233; and Fishberg, 102; and Hungarian Jews, 224; and Sephardic texts, 22
- Hasidism, 2, 229, 240n20; advent of, 8; and Christianity, 206; and Geiger, 197, 201–2; and Germany, 59; and Graetz, 206, 211, 283n84; Jewish critiques of, 196; and Polish Jews, 59. *See also* Eastern European Jews
- Haskalah/Jewish Enlightenment, 21, 32, 61, 183; and aesthetics, 39; and beauty, 67; and class, 90; and eradication of defects, 53; and Europeanization of Jews, 45; and Hebrew, 17, 23–24, 209; and Hebrew accent, 42; and history, 11; journals of, 61; and language as tool of cognition, 28; and Maimonides, 66; and music, 33–34; and Neubauer, 89; and outer form as reflecting inner character, 53; and *Sulamith*, 64. *See also* Berlin Haskalah

- Hatala, Péter, 222
- Hebraists, 23, 51
- Hebrew, 91; and aesthetics, 31, 38, 42; antiquity of, 24; and Arabic, 23; Arabized, 199; Ashkenazic, 49, 130; and Babylonian exile, 32; beauty of, 23, 31, 38, 40, 44; and Bible, 23, 24–25, 31; command of as religious obligation, 42; and communities in Palestine and Babylonia, 32; decline in knowledge of, 5, 24, 26; and Dubno, 38; and foreign words, 23; forms drawn from history of, 51; and Geiger, 280n28; and German, 27; and German language reform, 29; as God's language, 5, 25, 26, 31–32, 44, 45; and Goldziher, 221, 286n134; and Graetz, 205–6, 209; and Haskalah, 17, 21; and Herder, 25; and H. Herz, 60; and historians, 191; and historical novels, 272n7; as Holy Tongue, 30, 44; and ideal types of *Ha-Me'assef*, 62; impoverishment of, 211; and Kafka, 235; and *Kohelet musar*, 37; as *leshon ha-kodesh* (language of holiness), 25; limitations of, 23, 24; liturgical use of, 24; and logical, humane expression, 51; and Maimonides, 62; medieval, 23; medieval Andalusian scholarship on, 32; and M. Mendelssohn, 31–33, 37–38, 44, 209, 246n37; mishnaic, 23, 24–25, 51; and morality, 38; and music, 37; as original language, 23–24; and Palestine, 251n112; perfection of, 30; and Philippson, 185; and Polish Jews, 34–35, 57; purity of, 23, 24–25, 31; rabbinic, 51; and Renan, 220; revival of, 21, 52; and secularism, 17, 23; and Sephardim, 21–23, 66, 91; sound of, 24, 30, 33, 38, 209; suppleness and usability of, 23; syntax of, 44; and thought, 28; as vernacular, 23, 32, 38; vowels of, 43; and Weimar Republic, 236; and N. Wessely, 39, 40; and Yiddish, 23, 25, 29–30, 31, 39; and Zionism, 29. *See also* language
- Hebrew accent and pronunciation, 8, 17; antiquity of, 45; Ashkenazic, 21–22, 48, 49; and beauty, 44; and behavior in synagogues, 47; Christian influences on, 47; and civilizing process, 29; and Exile, 32, 211; German, 44; and German Enlightenment aesthetics, 30; and Haskalah, 42; and history, 32; in Land of Israel, 52; and maskilim, 33, 45, 48; and M. Mendelssohn, 28, 31–32, 37; and Moses, 31; and racial purity, 91; and Reform Judaism, 44, 45, 48; and self-abnegation, 22; and self-criticism, 39; and self-perception, 33; Sephardic, 18, 22, 34, 37, 40, 44–45, 48–49, 52, 91, 130; Sephardic vs. Ashkenazic, 38–39, 41–43, 45, 47, 51–52; and N. Wessely, 40, 41–43; and Zionism, 48–51
- Hebrew culture, 45
- Hebrew fiction, 233
- Hebrew grammar, 2, 3, 25, 26, 32, 40, 43
- Hebrew hymns, 47–48
- Hebrew Language Association (Va'ad ha-lashon ha-ivrit), 50–52
- Hebrew poets, 3, 14
- Hebrews, ancient, 101, 219. *See also* Israelites, ancient
- Hebrew Teachers Seminary, 50
- Hebrew theater, 236
- Hegel, G.W.F., 180, 192, 282n64; *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, 162
- Heine, Heinrich, 48, 275n45; *Almansor*, 206–7, 282n61; *Donna Clara*, 170–71, 175; “Jessica,” 193, 210; letters to Moses Moser, 275n35, 276n60; letter to Sethe, 177; *The Princess Sabbath*, 179; *The Rabbi of Bacherach*, 175–76, 177–82, 276n50; and romanticism, 10; and Sephardim, 18; *Shakespeare's Girls and Women*, 193; *Über Polen* (On Poland), 176, 177
- Heine, Salomon, 48
- Hellenism, 198
- Hellenized Jews, 207
- Herder, Johann Gottfried, 9, 12, 26, 29, 162, 195; *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, 25
- Herod, 207
- Herz, Henriette née de Lemos, 59–61
- Herz, Marcus, 59–60
- Herzl, Theodor, 13, 72, 73, 107, 205, fig. 2.20
- Heschel, Abraham Joshua, 255n38
- Heschel, Susannah, 193, 195
- Hess, Jonathan, 16–17, 171
- High German, 28–29, 30, 51, 62, 217. *See also* German
- Hirsch, Samson Raphael, 167, 216; *Nineteen Letters on Judaism*, 203
- historians, 17, 163, 190–229; and Christians, 228–29; and Sephardic pronunciation, 45; and Sephardim, 16

- historical consciousness, 115
- historical novels, 17, 18, 160, 163–64, 166–89, 273–74n25; as adventure stories, 19; Christian, 172; Christian suitors in, 19, 171; as collective autobiography, 168; common themes of, 172; community as protagonist in, 168; conversion in, 19, 163, 171; *conversos* in, 187–88; corrected depictions of heroes in, 172; and ethnic solidarity and sympathy, 168; and Graetz, 204; and history, 183, 186, 189; Jewish damsels in, 19; positive image promoted in, 168–69; readers’ expectations of, 171–73; and religious feeling, 168; Sephardim in, 19, 165, 168, 169, 170, 171–89, 233, 273–74n25; Spanish, 274n30; suffering in, 171, 173, 174, 184, 186, 187; and *Taufepidemie* of 1770–1830, 164
- historicism, 69, 190
- historiography, 18, 175, 189, 191, 218
- history, 76, 103, 108, 164, 166; and aesthetics, 7; and antisemitism, 135–36; and archaeology, 68; Ashkenazic Jews as cowed by, 14; and beauty, 67; context of writers of, 19; and critical study, 192; as depriving Ashkenazim of nobility and grace, 78; and Enlightenment vs. romanticism, 10; and ethnic solidarity and sympathy, 168; and Förster, 144, 148; and Frankfurt synagogue, 123; Gans on, 162; and Geiger, 165, 194–202; and Goldziher, 218–28; and Graetz, 203–11, 214–16; and Haskalah, 11; and Hebrew, 25–26; and Hebrew pronunciation, 32; and Hegel, 192; and Heine, 175, 176; and historical novels, 183, 186, 189; and Leipzig synagogue, 141, 143; of ordinary people vs. social and intellectual elites, 190–91; and origins, 135–36, 195; and Philippon, 186, 187; and pleasure reading, 168; and Reckendorf, 214; and religion, 197; and Rosengarten, 133; and *Rundbogenstil* design, 126; and Sephardim’s noble bearing, 77–78; and suffering, 11; and *Sulamith*, 65; and synagogue architecture, 113, 117, 119, 120–21; universal, 168; and N. Wessely, 41; and Zunz, 211–12, 213. *See also* antiquity
- Hitler, Adolf, 75
- Hittites, 74, 75
- Hölderlin, Johann Christian Friedrich, 11
- Holland, 65, 66, 127, 128–29, 185
- Holocaust, 189
- Holy Land, 69, 205
- Holy Roman Empire, 29
- Homer, 202
- Horowitz, Pinhus, 39
- Hourani, Albert, 284n103
- housing, 114, 115
- Hübsch, Heinrich, 124, 127; *In What Style Should We Build?*, 123
- humanism, 119, 195
- humanity, 64
- Humboldt, Alexander von, 60
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 202, 251n103
- Hume, David, 44, 54
- Hundert, Gershon, 240n13
- Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 224
- Hungarian Jews, 92, 216–17, 224–26
- Hungarian Neologism, 224, 287n145
- Hungary, 192, 286n135
- ibn Ezra, Moses, 2, 23, 32, 61; commentary on *Megillot*, 35
- ibn Gabirol, Solomon, 61
- ibn Tibbon, Samuel, 23
- identity: and aesthetics, 5, 6; and Berlin Neue Synagoge, 158–59; and Damascus Affair, 135; and Dubois’s double consciousness, 6–7; Eastern vs. Western, 130; German, 135; German-Jewish, 20; and Goldziher, 216, 217, 224; and Heine, 177, 180, 181, 182; and historical novels, 182; and language, 27, 29, 58; and Leipzig synagogue, 139; and neo-Moorish-style synagogues, 130; particularistic, 210; and Prussian Constitution, 135; and Rosengarten, 133; and Semper, 138; and Sephardic superiority, 1, 60; and synagogues, 18, 133, 160. *See also* self; self-perception
- Illustrated London News*, “Opening of the new Jewish synagogue, Berlin,” fig. 3.13
- images and depictions: early modern, 80; eighteenth-century, 81; medieval, 79–80, 81; nineteenth-century, 78–79, 81–85; premodern history of, 79–80; seventeenth-century, 80–81. *See also* greeting cards; photography; postcards
- imperialism, 115; and Goldziher, 228; and orientalism, 14, 15, 16, 192–93, 195, 196, 197



- India, 127  
Indian culture, 45  
Indian mosques, 152  
Indo-European languages, 91  
industrialization, 114, 115  
Ingenheim synagogue, 131, fig. 3.4  
Inquisition, 172, 182, 184, 186–87, 211.  
    *See also* autos-da-fé  
Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen  
    Literatur (Institute for the Promotion of  
    Jewish Literature), 166, 204  
intermarriage, 88, 93–94, 208, 224,  
    262nn128–29  
International Congress of Orientalists, 226  
Isfahan, 152  
Islam, 15, 141, 228, 231; Arabian origins  
    of, 164; and architectural style, 128;  
    and biblical prophecy, 201; character  
    development in, 66; and Christianity,  
    136, 201, 206, 207; and Christian orien-  
    talists, 197; discrimination under, 207,  
    227; as divinely inspired, 197–98; and  
    Enlightenment, 195; European criticism  
    of, 196; and Geiger, 194–95, 196–98,  
    200, 201, 202, 223, 281n54, 288n162;  
    and Goldziher, 216, 218, 220, 222–24,  
    225–26, 227, 228, 284n103; and Graetz,  
    203, 204–5, 207–8, 215, 223, 281n54;  
    Hebrew culture under, 45; and Heine,  
    207; in historical novels, 172, 174; as  
    idolatry, 3; and Jewish orientalists, 194;  
    Jewish scholarly engagement with, 164;  
    Jews under, 22, 41, 136, 191, 192, 193,  
    199, 204–5, 207, 209–10; and Judaism,  
    41, 192, 193, 194–99, 200, 201, 203,  
    207–8, 223, 227, 229, 257–58n67,  
    281n54; and monotheism, 201; and  
    mutual compatibility and cultural  
    exchange, 192; and orientalist scholar-  
    ship, 190; positive vision of, 191; rational  
    nature of, 224; and Sephardim, 3, 174;  
    and *Sulamith*, 65; and tolerance, 2, 19,  
    231. *See also* Arabs; *convivencia*; Spain  
*Islamwissenschaft* (academic study of Islam),  
    216, 217  
Isler, Meyer, 165  
Israel, Manasseh ben, 65  
*Israelit, Der*, 167, 184  
Israelite Congregation of Pest, 224–25  
Israelites, ancient, 65, 76–77, 87; and  
    archaeology, 18; and beauty, 68; and  
    Chamberlain, 75; as depicted on reliefs,  
    68–78; and Goldziher, 219; and Leo-  
    poldstädter Tempel, 148; and M. Men-  
    delssohn, 36; open culture of, 221; and  
    Renan, 220; and Sephardim, 77. *See also*  
    antiquity; archaeology; Hebrews, ancient  
Isserles, Moses, 202  
Italian Hebraists, 23  
Italian Jews, 88, 206, 215  
Italians, 27  
Itzig, Bella, 35  
Itzig, Daniel, 34, 35, 56, 248n60  
Itzig family, 34  
Iznik pottery, 127  
Jacobs, Joseph, 69–70, 72, 89; “On the  
    Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews,”  
    69–70  
Jacobson, Israel, 47  
Jaffe, Mordechai, 38–39  
Jay, Martin, 4, 44  
Jeitteles, Ignaz, 253–54n12  
Jellinek, Adolf, 274–75n33  
Jellinek, Hermann, 274–75n33  
Jerusalem: destruction of, 173; Goldziher’s  
    visit to, 227; and Herzl, 205; Solomon’s  
    Temple, 120, 125, 133, 141, 148, 206;  
    and Spain, 206  
Jesus, 79, 200, 205, 220  
*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 89–93, 262n123  
Jewish Enlightenment. *See* Haskalah/Jewish  
    Enlightenment  
Jewish Labor Bund, 98  
Jewish nationalism, 14, 87, 272n7; in East-  
    ern Europe, 13; and Fishberg, 108; and  
    Graetz, 215. *See also* Zionism  
Jewish national literature, 165  
Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau,  
    204  
Jewish Working Men’s Club, 70  
Joseph II, 29; and Edict of Toleration, 34,  
    40, 213  
Josephus, 207  
journals, 61, 67, 68, 168, 190  
Judæo-Spanish. *See* Ladino  
Judah, tribe of, 56, 88  
Judah Loew ben Bezalel, 38  
Judaism: and Christianity, 195, 197, 198,  
    200–201, 205, 206, 207, 220; critiques  
    of, 196; as divinely inspired, 197–98;  
    foundational nature of, 195, 197; and

- Friedländer, 34; Gans on, 162–63; and Geiger, 223, 281n54; and Goldziher, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 226–27, 228; and Graetz, 281n54; and Hebrew pronunciation, 44; Hegel on, 162; and Heine, 177, 179–80, 181, 182, 276–77n60; and M. Herz, 59, 60; and Hungary, 286n135; and Iberian Peninsula, 201; and Islam, 41, 190, 192, 193, 194–99, 200, 201, 203, 207–8, 223, 227, 229, 257–58n67, 281n54; Kafka on, 235; Mendelssohn on, 31–32; and monotheism, 201, 206, 221; and Muhammad, 196, 197; new forms of, 1, 188; and orality, 31; as Oriental, 229; Pharisaic, 201; and Philippson, 187; pre-Christian and Sephardim, 206; rabbinic, 195; rabbinic vs. biblical, 87; return of *conversos* to, 187–88; Sephardic identity as superior to, 60; and universality, 54, 198, 201, 206, 220, 221; and Western civilization, 195. See also *convivencia*; Orthodox Judaism; Reform Judaism; theology; *Wissenschaft des Judentums*
- Judea, ancient, 18
- Judeans, 75, 76, 205, 206
- Judendeutsch*. See Judeo-German
- Judensau* images, 79–80
- Judeo-Arabic, 62–63
- Judeo-German, 58, 90, 212, 213, 217.  
See also Yiddish
- Jüdische Volksblatt*, 166
- Judt, Ignacy Maurycy, 96, 257n62; *Die Juden als Rasse*, 72, figs. 2.1–2.3
- kabbalah, 22, 39, 201, 240n20
- Kafka, Franz, 235
- Kalisch, Ludwig, 177
- Kanitz, C., 138
- Kant, Immanuel, 6, 38, 44, 59
- Karl Friedrich, Margrave of Baden, 120, 122
- Karlsruhe synagogue, 120–22, fig. 3.2
- Kassel synagogue, 124–26, 133, 134, fig. 3.3
- Kaufmann, David, 165
- Kayserling, Meyer, 48, 89–92, 96, 186; *Sephardim*, 187
- Kirnberger, Johann Philipp, 35, 37; *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, 36; *Odes with Melodies*, 36
- Klein, Ernst Ferdinand, 246n37
- Klenze, Leo von, *Instructions for the Architecture of Christian Worship*, 121, 266n32
- Knoblauch, Eduard, 150–51, 154, 158
- Knoblauch, G., and F. Hollin, “Die Neue Synagoge in Berlin,” fig. 3.12
- Kohélet musar* (Preacher of Morals), 37, 38
- Kohn, Abraham, 164
- Kohn, Samuel, 224
- Kolb, Jocelyne, 277n61
- Kölner Hof Hotel (postcard), fig. 2.9
- Königsberg, 37
- Koran, 194, 195, 197, 198, 214, 219, 227
- Krobb, Florian, 16–17, 168
- Künzl, Hannelore, 16
- Lachish, bas reliefs of, 257n62
- Ladino, 90–91
- Lagarde, Paul de, 159
- Land of Israel, 18, 52, 106. See also Palestine
- language, 67, 82, 243n10; and accent, 21; and aesthetics, 7, 9, 21–22, 30–31; and antisemitism, 91; and architecture, 130; and Aryans, 91; and Ashkenazim, 90; and beauty, 18; and Berlin Haskalah, 21–45; and centralized state, 21, 29; and character, 9, 29, 38, 42, 53; as civilizing agent, 29; and culture, 26, 27, 31, 41, 53; and Edict of Toleration, 40; and education, 28, 29; and emancipation, 29; and Enlightenment, 28; and enlightenment, 26–27; and European states, 21, 29; and Geiger, 199, 280n28; and German Jews, 58, 212; German philosophical discourse on, 32; and German vs. Polish Jews, 9; and Goldziher, 217–18, 286n134; and Graetz, 205–6, 209, 211; and Heine, 177; and H. Herz, 60; and historians, 191; and Hungarian Jews, 224; and ideal types of *Ha-Me’assef*, 62; and identity, 27, 29, 58; and Kayserling, 90–92; and Leibniz, 27; and Maimonides, 62–63; and maskilim, 27, 30, 39, 40, 214; and M. Mendelssohn, 28, 31–33, 38, 40, 209, 247n46; and mind/cognition/thought, 21, 27, 28, 40, 53; and modern Jews, 23, 24, 25, 28, 38, 42, 44–45, 47; and morality, 9, 17, 21, 30, 38; music as, 36; national, 38; and national character, 9; and Polish Jews,

- language (*continued*)  
212; practical reforms of, 28; purity of, 24; and race, 90–91; and Renan, 220; and Rousseau, 247n46; and self-improvement, 54; and Sephardim, 66, 90–92, 93, 191; and social interaction, 9; and social status, 21; uniform national, 28–29; *Volksgeist* as residing in, 9; and Zionism, 93; and Zunz, 212–13. *See also* orality; speech; vernacular
- Latin, 27, 29
- Lavater, Johann Caspar, 252–53n1, 280n33
- Law (*Halakha*), 198, 262n128, 287n145
- Law (Torah), 193
- law, and aesthetics, 5
- laws, Mendelssohn on, 31
- Learning and Reading Association (Jüdischen Lehr-und Leseverein), 165
- Lehmann, Marcus, 167, 184; *Die Familie Y Aguilar* (The Family Y Aguilar), 172; *Eine Seder-Nacht in Madrid* (A Seder Night in Madrid), 169, 182
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm: “Einige patriotischen Gedanken,” 27; *Ermahnung an die Teutsche, ihren Verstand und Sprache besser zu üben*, 27; *Die Unvorgreiflichen Gedanken betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der Teutschen Sprache*, 27
- Leipzig, 133
- Leipzig fair, 139
- Leipzig synagogue, 138–43, 156, figs. 3.6–3.7; apse of, 141; clerestory of, 141; exterior of, 139, 141; horseshoe arches in, 140, 141; interior of, 139–41; location and orientation of, 139; nave arch of, 141; pulpit of, 141; rosette of, 140–41; rose window of, 140; Torah ark of, 139–40, 141; triple trefoil window of, 141; women’s galleries of, 139, 141
- lending libraries, 165, 166
- Leon, Yehuda Messer, 23
- Leopold III, Duke of Anhalt-Dessau, 118–19
- Leopoldstädter Tempel, Vienna, 143–49, 152, figs. 3.8–3.10; and ancient Near East, 148, 149; arches of, 145, 146; chandeliers of, 147; crenellated cornice of, 145; entryways of, 145; exterior of, 144–45, 148; interior of, 145–47; and Israelites, 148; location of, 144; and Oriental architecture, 148; and orientalization, 143, 144, 149; quatrefoil windows of, 144–45; and Solomon’s Temple, 148; Torah ark of, 146; women’s galleries of, 145
- Leroy-Beaulieu, Anatole, *Israel among the Nations*, 77
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 35, 62
- Lessing, Theodor, 99–100
- Levant Company, 127
- Levinzon, Yitzhak Ber, 252n125
- Levita, Elia, 26
- Levy, Sara Itzig, 34, 248n60
- liberals, 135, 136, 138, 149
- Liddon, Henry, 156
- Liebermann, Max, illustration for Heinrich Heine, *Der Rabbi von Bacherach*, fig. 4.1
- Lilien, Ephraim Moses, 106–8, 263n145, fig. 2.21; “A Journey to Jerusalem,” 107; photograph of Theodor Herzl, fig. 2.20; “Polish Jew in Jerusalem,” fig. 2.19
- Lipton, Sara, 79
- liturgy, 91–92, 130, 202, 221
- Loebl, Rabbi, 13
- London: Alhambra, Kew Gardens, 127; Jews’ Free School, 70
- Lowe, Lisa, 242n40
- Löwenstein, Rahel, 233
- Lowenstein, Steven, 8
- Löwisohn, Joseph, 65
- Ludwig I of Bavaria, 121, 122
- Luria, Isaac, 39
- Luria, Solomon, 202
- Luther, Martin, 29, 207
- Luzzatto, Moshe Hayyim, 23
- Magdi, Sayyid Salih Bey al-, 228
- Maimonides, Moses, 2, 184, 185; and Abravanel, 63; *Commentary on the Mishnah*, 62; and Graetz, 209; *Guide for the Perplexed*, 62; and Hebrew, 23, 32; as ideal type, 61, 62, 64; in literature, 168; and M. Mendelssohn, 63, 209; and Reckendorf, 214; and *Sulamith*, 65–66
- Mapu, Avraham, *Love of Zion*, 49
- Marchand, Suzanne, 15, 195
- Marcus, Ivan, “Beyond the Sephardic Mystique,” 16, 239n4
- Maria Theresa, 182
- Marien, Mary Warner, 70
- Marranos, 18, 19, 169–88; character of, 169, 170; as differentiated group, 169;

- and German Jews, 174–75; and Heine, 177, 181; and Philippson, 186, 187; and Reform vs. Orthodox Jews, 19; as renegades, 169; as secretly practicing Judaism, 169; as term, 169. *See also* apostasy; conversion; *conversos*
- maskilim, 61, 66, 94, 108, 234; and Abravanel, 63; and aesthetics, 30; and *Bildung*, 12; and Chamberlain, 75; and character formation, 66; circulation of ideas among, 40; condemnation of Yiddish by, 29; and education, 34, 40; and European norms, 45; and expression, 51; and Graetz, 205; and Hebrew, 21, 24, 25–26, 31, 37–38, 44; and Hebrew pronunciation, 33, 45; and H. Herz, 61; and ideal types of *Ha-Me'assef*, 62; and Kayserling, 92; and language, 27, 30, 39, 40, 214; and Maimonides and M. Mendelssohn, 63; and music, 33; and music lovers, 37; and Reckendorf, 214; and regard of non-Jews, 62; and romanticism, 12; and Sephardic beauty, 17; and Sephardic pronunciation, 48; and Sephardim, 11, 236; and Sephardim as ideal type, 54, 93; and *shlemut* (perfection), 12, 66; and symbolic capital, 3–4; tight-knit circle of, 40; and *Vollkommenheit* (perfection), 12, 66; and N. Wessely, 42; and Yiddish, 5, 23, 58
- Maupertuis, Pierre-Louis Moreau de, 35
- Maximilian I, 121
- Me'asfim*, 61, 62–64, 65
- medallions, 83
- medievalism, 164
- Meier, Georg Friedrich, 31
- Meldola, David, 48
- Mendelssohn, Abraham, 34
- Mendelssohn, Fromet, 30
- Mendelssohn, Moses, 248n61, 252–53n1; and aesthetics, 67; and beauty, 35; and Berlin's intellectual high society, 36; and Eastern European Jews, 59; on enlightenment, 26–27; and Friedländer, 35, 56, 59; and Geiger, 200, 280nn33–34; and Graetz, 206, 208–9, 211, 215; and Gumpertz, 35–36; and Hebrew, 26, 37–38, 44; and Heine, 177; and M. Herz, 59, 60; *Jerusalem*, 31–32; and Kirnberger, 35, 36, 37; and *Kohélet musar*, 37; and language, 28, 31–33, 38, 40, 209, 247n46; and Lavater, 280n33; and Maimonides, 63; and Michaelis, 28; and music, 33, 34, 35–37; Nicolai on, 62; “On the Sentiments,” 35; *Or la-Netiva*, 32; Pentateuch translation by, 32; on rabbis, 196; and Reckendorf, 214; and Schlegel, 123; *Sefer Ha-nefesh*, 248n67; and social marginalization, 236; and *Sulamith*, 64; translation of Psalm 137, 36; and N. Wessely, 40; and Yiddish, 29–30, 246n37; and Zunz, 213
- Mensur* (duel), 67
- Métivier, Jean-Baptiste, 121
- Michaelis, Johann David, 26, 196; “Beantwortung der Frage von dem Einfluss der Meinungen in die Sprache, und der Sprache in die Meinungen,” 28
- Middle Ages, 79–80, 88, 162, 212, 218; and Enlightenment vs. romanticism, 10; German, 212; persecution during, 202; and synagogue construction, 117–18
- middle class/bourgeoisie, 3, 12, 14, 44, 53, 81, 115, 231; and aesthetics, 4, 5–6; and emancipation, 5; emergence of Jews into, 1; emptiness of, 233; and Geiger, 200; German Jews in, 8; in Germany, 29; and Goldziher, 217; and Graetz, 215; and historical novels, 169, 171; materialism and spiritual emptiness of, 234; and music, 33; and synagogue construction, 118; and Winz, 233; World War I rebellion against, 232
- Middle Eastern Jews, 72
- Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig, 112
- mihrab*, 139
- Miller, Julius, 248n59
- minarets, 112, 148, 152
- minbar*, 141
- mind/cognition/thought: and aesthetics, 30–31; and Baumgarten, 30–31; and language, 21, 27, 28, 40, 53; and Yiddish, 40
- Minton (ceramic manufacturer), 146
- Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde* (Notes of the Society for Jewish Folklore), 232
- Modena, Yehuda Aryeh, 23
- modernism, 228
- modernity: and Goldziher, 223; and Graetz, 208; and Sephardic texts, 22; and N. Wessely, 42, 43–44

- modernization: and Graetz, 203; and language, 39–40; and pleasure reading, 167  
modern Jews, 78, 87; biblical pedigree of, 68; and Geiger, 202; and Goldziher, 221; and Heine, 175, 177; and Islam, 192; and Jacobs, 72; and language, 23, 24, 25, 28, 38, 42, 44–45, 47; and Ludwig, 171; and Rathenau, 99; and Sephardim, 202  
Molcho, Shlomo, 13, 184  
monotheism, 220, 221, 224  
Morag, Shelomo, 252n129  
morality, 78; and architecture, 266n29; and beauty, 38; disaffection with, 22; and Graetz, 209; and Hebrew, 30, 38; and Jacobs, 70; and Kant, 38; and language, 9, 17, 21, 30, 38; and medieval depictions of Jews, 79; and M. Mendelssohn, 37; and physical anthropology, 85; and Sephardim, 66, 94, 162; and speech, 42; and Yiddish, 29–30  
Moser, Moses, 171, 275n35, 276n60  
Moses, 31, 64  
Moses Lopes Pereira. *See* Aguilar, Diego d' (Moses Lopes Pereira)  
Moshfegh, David, 221  
mosques, 139, 141, 152, 154  
Mosse, George, 12  
Mothes, Oscar, 131  
Moysé, Édouard, 106  
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 34, 37  
Muhammad, 195–98, 208, 224, 227  
Müller, Max, 91, 225  
Munich, 116  
Munich Academy of Arts, 131  
Munich Jewish community, 266n30  
Munich synagogue, 120, 121–22, 266n30  
music, 7, 33–37, 46; appreciation of, 30; Friedländer on, 35; and Hebrew, 37; liturgical, 46–47; and M. Mendelssohn, 33, 34, 35–37, 40; and Reform Judaism, 47–48; and Sephardic Hebrew, 37; and *Tempellieder*, 35  
mysticism, 22, 26, 210  
myths: of origins, 77, 108; and Renan, 220; of restoration, 187, 188  
Nachmanides, 32  
Nahman, of Bratslav, 233  
Napoleon I, 120, 122  
Nash, John, 115, 127  
Nasi, Don Joseph, Duke of Naxos, 185  
nationalism, 1, 68, 78; and anthropology, 93; and archaeology, 68; and beauty, 67; and Goldziher, 228; and Graetz, 204; and Herzl, 72; and historiography, 191; and Israelites on ancient reliefs, 69; and myths of origin, 77; and racial myths, 87; and romanticism, 14; and Scott, 163; and Treitschke, 215  
Nazis, 64, 231  
Near East, 127, 131  
Near East, ancient, 68, 69, 70, 72, 76, 122, 148, 149. *See also* antiquity  
Near Eastern Jews, 135  
Nebuchadnezzar, 206  
neoclassicism, 10. *See also* architecture, elements and styles of  
Neologism, 224, 287n145  
neo-Moorish style, 16, 18, 110, 112, 117, 126, 128–60; and Berlin Neue Synagoge, 149–59; and Dresden synagogue, 136–38; and Leipzig synagogue, 138–43; and Leopoldstädter Tempel, 143–49; reasons for adoption of, 134–36; and Rosengarten, 133, 134  
neo-Orthodoxy, 167  
neo-romanticism, 68, 69, 76  
Neubauer, Adolf, 88–89  
Neue Synagoge, Berlin, 149–59, figs. 3.11–3.13; apse of, 154; arcade of five arches of, 154; and Berlin's urban landscape, 156; choir of, 154; expense of, 159; exterior of, 151–52; interior of, 151, 152, 154; Islamic decorative elements of, 151; location of, 149, 150, 159; mosaics of, 154; onion dome of, 151–52; and Oriental past, 156; reception of, 154, 156–59; sanctuary of, 154; structural demands of, 158; Torah ark of, 154, fig. 3.12; walls and floors of, 154; windows of, 152, 154; women's galleries in, 150, 152, 154  
New Christians, 169  
newspapers, 19, 61, 67, 78, 82, 135, 168, 190  
Nicolai, Friedrich, 62  
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 137, 269n71  
Nineveh, 148  
Nöldeke, Theodor, 195–96, 199–200, 217  
North African mosques, 139, 152  
Nott, Josiah Clark, *Types of Mankind*, 74  
Novalis, 11

- novels, 17, 19, 163, 168. *See also* belles lettres; historical novels
- Nunes, Maria, 187
- Oestreich, Gerhard, 28
- Oppler, Edwin, 158–59
- orality, 31, 32, 37, 44, 212, 218. *See also* language; speech
- Orient, 201
- Oriental heritage, 143
- orientalism, 14–16, 68, 77, 93, 106, 190; as British and French cultural enterprise, 192; and Christian religious origins, 15; and Christians, 228–29; and Christian supersessionism, 197; and critique of European state, 19; and Geiger, 201; German, 15, 195, 196, 197, 198; and Goldziher, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222; and history, 192; and imperialism, 14, 15, 16, 192–93, 195, 196, 197; and inferiority, 193; Jewish, 203; and Said, 14, 69, 192, 220, 221; and Sephardicists, 15–16; and Sephardic pronunciation of Hebrew, 22; and tolerance and acceptance, 16
- orientalization, 1–2, 45, 143, 144, 149, 160
- Oriental past, 130, 156
- Oriental, Jews as, 160
- Oriental synagogues, 159
- origins, 86; and antisemitism, 135; Eastern, 138; historicization of, 195; and history, 135–36; of Islam, 164; myths of, 77, 108; Oriental, 135; and orientalism, 15; and Sephardim, 241n36
- Orthodox Judaism, 130, 135, 229; in Berlin, 150; and Geiger, 197, 201; and German Jews, 214, 236; and Goldziher, 216, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224; and Graetz, 203, 210; and historical novels, 167; and Hungarian Jews, 224; as irrational, 224; and Jewish orientalist, 194; and Marranos, 19, 169; in Vienna, 144. *See also* Judaism
- Ost und West* (East and West), 232–33
- Ottomans, 127, 223, 278n5
- Palestine, 45, 49, 72, 73, 107, 205, 288n1. *See also* Land of Israel
- Pappenheim, Shlomo, 24–25
- Parfitt, Tudor, 251n112
- Paris: Louvre, 123–24
- Parsiism, 198
- Parthenon, 137–38
- Patai, Raphael, 225
- Peace of Lunéville, 266n30
- perfidia synagoga*, 33
- persecution: by Christians, 14, 41, 56, 207, 212; in fiction, 163, 169, 184, 186; and Geiger, 201, 202; and Graetz, 205, 207; and Sephardim, 54, 169, 274n30; shaping power of, 66, 162, 202, 212; and social conditions, 162, 212. *See also* antisemitism; discrimination; social acceptance; suffering
- Persian classics, 206–7
- Persian domes, 152
- Persian polygonal designs, 148
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, 115
- Philippson, Ludwig, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 174, 181–82, 188, 274n29; *Die drei Brüder* (The Three Brothers), 184–86; and Graetz, 204; and historical novels, 184; and history, 186; *Jakob Tirado*, 186–87
- Philippson, Phöbus, *Die Marranen* (The Marranos), 171, 172, 173–74, 210
- philosophes*, 36, 55
- philosophy, 14, 191; and Gans, 161; and German, 29; and Goldziher, 221; and Graetz, 210; and Hebrew, 24; and M. Herz, 59, 60; medieval, 218
- Photographic News, The*, 70
- photography, 68, 69, 81, 256–57n54; and antisemitism, 78; and archaeology, 74; and beauty, 67; and Fishberg, 102; and Galton, 70; and Jacobs, 70; and Lilien, 107; and Sephardim, 106. *See also* images and depictions
- phrenology, 53, 252–53n1. *See also* body
- physiognomy, 53, 68, 252–53n1. *See also* body
- pietism, 22, 39, 59, 240n20
- piyyut* (medieval liturgical poetry), 23
- poetry, 19, 23, 82, 168, 199; Arabic, 218; and biblical Hebrew, 23; and Gans, 161; and Goldziher, 218; and Graetz, 210; and historians, 191; liturgical, 91–92; medieval liturgical, 23; and M. Mendelssohn, 36–37; and music, 36–37; and perfect sensory discourse, 30; and Polish Jews, 57; and Sephardim, 2, 37, 190, 191; Zionist, 52. *See also* belles lettres

- Poland, 8–9, 41; partitioning of, 34, 56, 57  
Poliakov, Leon, 108  
Polish Jews: assimilation of, 34; as authentic, 234; and Berlin Haskalah, 11; Christian maltreatment of, 41; as debased and degraded, 56; and education, 57; and Fishberg, figs. 2.11, 2.13, 2.19; folk culture of, 234; and Franzos, 210–11; and Friedländer, 34–35, 57–58, 59, 60–61, 97, 176–77; and Geiger, 201–2; and German, 34–35; and German Jews, 1, 8–9, 20, 57–59, 60–61, 66, 214, 231, 234–35; and Gobineau, 73; and Goldziher, 225, 226; and Graetz, 203, 206, 210, 211, 215, 225; and Hasidism, 59; and Hebrew, 34–35, 57; and Heine, 176, 177; historical depictions of, 191–92; improvement of, 34; intermarriage rate among, 94; and language, 212; medieval, 162; as Mongoloid Types, figs. 2.11, 2.13; and music, 35; and Neubauer, 89; persecution of, 212; physical features of, 87, 202; and poetry, 57; and post–World War I German Jews, 234; in Prussia, 34, 56, 97; and rabbinic culture, 89; and Reckendorf, 214; schools of, 57, 213; and Sephardim, 202; sonic qualities of, 202; synagogue services of, 57; and tradition, 234; and Treitschke, 215; and N. Wessely, 42; and Yiddish, 34–35, 57, 212, 234; and Zionism, 236; and Zunz, 212, 213; and Zweig, 234–35. *See also* Eastern European Jews  
popular culture, 19, 33, 67–68, 160, 165. *See also* culture  
population, 112, 114, 115–16, 143–44, 149, 150  
portraits, 80–81  
Portugal, 216  
Portuguese Jews, 55, 56, 60, 212  
Positive-Historical Judaism, 204  
postcards, 67, 82, figs. 2.9, 2.10; “The Family Löwy,” fig. 2.10  
print culture, 78–79, 82  
“Proclamation concerning the Improvements of the Worship Service in the Synagogues of the Kingdom of Westphalia,” 46  
Protestants, 7, 47, 60, 195, 196, 199–200  
Prussia, 34, 56, 97, 135, 149, 161  
Prussian Academy of Sciences, 28, 35  
Prussian Jews, 58  
Puttrich, Ludwig, 138  
rabbis, 2, 191; disaffection with, 22; and Geiger, 197, 201; and German Jews, 212; and Goldziher, 223; and language, 90; and Polish Jews, 89; on rabbis, 196; and Sephardim, 14; and Zunz, 212  
race, 78, 86, figs. 2.3, 2.11, 2.13; and archaeology, 68, 70; and Chamberlain, 74–76; and Gobineau, 73–74; and Goldziher, 220; and Japhet, Shem, and Ham, 77; and language, 90–91; and Nott, 74; and Ruppim, 72–73; and *völkisch* movement, 82. *See also* ethnicity  
race science. *See* anthropology, physical (race science)  
racial myths, 87  
racial purity, 91  
racial types, 86  
racism, 69, 74–76, 219  
Rambam. *See* Maimonides, Moses  
Ranke, Leopold von, 17  
Rashi (Shlomo Yitzchaki), 2, 202  
Ratgeb, Jörg, Herrenberger Altarpiece, 259n84  
Rathenau, Walter, 50, 99, 100, 252n118  
rationalism, 2, 3, 14, 62, 66, 211, 215  
reading societies and book clubs, 165, 166, 187  
reason, 2; and Baumgarten, 31; and Berlin Haskalah, 11; and *Bildung*, 12; and Enlightenment vs. romanticism, 10; and Goldziher, 223; and Islam, 224; and M. Mendelssohn, 28, 31, 37; and Orthodox Judaism, 224; and N. Wessely, 40  
Reckendorf, Hermann, *Mysteries of the Jews*, 214  
Reconquista, 19, 162, 172  
recreation, 67  
Reform Judaism, 46, 122–23, 130; in Berlin, 150; and Geiger, 194, 201, 202; and Germany, 59; and Goldziher, 223; and Graetz, 204, 207; growth of, 135; and historical novels, 167; and historicity of religions, 197; and history of Sephardim, 169; and Islam, 201; and Kassel, 124; and Leipzig, 138; and Marranos, 19; and Moorish architecture, 131; music and liturgy of, 47–48; and Seitenstettengasse

- synagogue, 119; and Sephardic pronunciation, 44, 45, 48; and Simonson, 143.  
*See also* Judaism
- Reimarus, Elise, 34
- Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, 80–81, 97; portrait of the Sephardic doctor Ephraim Bueno, fig. 2.5
- Renaissance, 23
- Renan, Ernest, 219, 220, 221, 286n127, 287n157
- revolutions, of 1848–49, 135, 144, 149, 150
- Riesser, Gabriel, 280n34
- ritual murder, 2, 79, 159, 175, 181, 276n48. *See also* antisemitism; blood libels
- Romanesque. *See* architecture, elements and styles of
- Romans, ancient, 133, 181, 207
- romanticism: and adulation of Sephardim, 10; and antisemitism, 78; and archaeology, 68; and Berlin Haskalah, 10–14; and Enlightenment, 10, 14; and history, 136; and myths of origin, 77; and physical anthropology, 85; and social change, 12
- Rosengarten, Albert, 124, 125, 126, 159; *A Handbook of Architectural Styles*, 133–34
- Rosenthal, Carl Albert, 128
- Roth, Cecil, 165–66
- Rothschild family, 90
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 35, 247n46
- Ruhl, Julius Eugen, 125
- Ruppin, Arthur, 72–73, 108
- Russia, 56, 233
- Russo-Polish Jews, 210
- Sabbateans, 22
- Safa Brura (Clear Language), 50
- Said, Edward, 69, 196, 220, 242n40, 288n170; and Goldziher, 221, 223; and Jewish orientalists, 229; *Orientalism*, 14–15, 192, 287n138
- Sammons, Jeffrey, 170
- Samson Talmud School (Wolfenbüttel), 213, 214
- Sanskrit, 45, 251n103
- Saposnik, Arieh, 252n127
- Satanow, Isaac, 24
- Savery, Roelandt, 259n85
- Saxony, 136, 138
- Schapkow, Carsten, 17
- Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph, 11
- Schiller, Friedrich, 12; *Don Carlos*, 172
- Schinkel, Karl Friedrich, 150, 151
- Schlegel, August Wilhelm, 11
- Schlegel, Dorothea von, 123
- Schlegel, Karl Wilhelm Friedrich, 6, 11, 123–24
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 11, 60
- Schnaber, Mordechai Gumpel, 24
- Scholem, Gershom, 12, 172, 236, 241n31
- schools, 212, 213, 214. *See also* education
- Schorsch, Ismar, 17, 278n1; “The Myth of Sephardic Superiority,” 16
- Schottel, Justus Georg, *Ausführlich Arbeit von der Deutschen Haupt-Sprache*, 27
- Schuchardt, August, 124, 125
- Schultes, Dr., 253–54n12
- science: and beauty, 100; and body, 84–85; and German, 29; and Hebrew, 24; and M. Herz, 59–60; and race, 108. *See also* anthropology; anthropology, physical (race science)
- Scott, Sir Walter, 163–64; *Ivanhoe*, 163
- secularism, 14, 23, 59, 81, 168, 233
- Seesen, 47
- Segal, Miryam, 252n128
- Sekula, Allan, 256–57n54
- self: and Ashkenazim vs. Sephardim, 66; cultivation of, 12; distorted sense of, 78; and German national architectural style, 124; and historical novels, 168; Sephardic sense of, 174; and synagogues, 117. *See also* *Bildung*; character; identity
- self-assertion: and antisemitism, 13; and Berlin’s Neue Synagoge, 149; and neo-Moorish-style synagogues, 129
- self-consciousness: and aesthetics, 6, 7; and beauty, 68
- self-critique: and adulation of Sephardim, 1, 22; and aesthetics, 6, 39; and emancipation, 6; and Geiger, 197; and Hebrew, 24, 25; and Hebrew pronunciation, 22, 39; and Rathenau, 99
- self-hatred, 14, 99–100, 287n157
- self-improvement, 6, 64; and Berlin Haskalah, 21; and language, 54; and N. Wesley, 42
- self-perception, 95–96; and internalization of negative assessments, 57; and synagogues, 113–14. *See also* identity



- Semites, 72, 73, 74, 75–76, 78, 91, 96, 101, 129, 219, 220
- Semitic Hamites, 77
- Semper, Gottfried, 136–38, 140, 269n71
- Sennacharib, 70, figs. 2.1–2.2
- Sephardim: and Abravanel, 63, 64; aesthetics of, 68, 163; in Amsterdam, 80–81, 187; and ancestry, 288–89n1; and ancient Hebrews, 101; and ancient Israel, 77; and antisemitism, 84; and Arab scholarship, 191; authenticity of, 8, 45, 77; and beauty, 4, 17, 18, 53, 61, 75, 76, 78, 86, 87, 94–99, 100–102, 108, 110, 234; and Berlin Haskalah, 11; and Bible, 87; biographical portraits of, 61–66; and body, 53, 61, 67; of Bordeaux, 58, 59, 63; and Chamberlain, 75, 76, 89–90; changing attitudes toward, 231; and Christians, 162; communal disintegration of, 54; declining economic status of, 54–55; de Pinto on, 55–56, 57–58; descent from, 13, 241n36; and descent from Judeans, 206; destruction of, 168; and discrimination, 90; discrimination practiced by, 54; dress of, 53, 89; economic life of, 92; and environment, 90; and Fishberg, 94–95, 97–99, 100–102; freedom of, 42; and Friedländer, 58; and Gans, 161–62; and Geiger, 197, 202; and German Jews, 3, 9, 16, 20, 59, 61, 234, 236, 237; German translations of texts of, 190; of Golden Age, 2, 3, 203, 236; good fortune as shaping, 174; and Graetz, 203, 206, 209–10; in Hamburg, 39; haughtiness of, 54; and Hebrew, 21–23, 26; and Hebrew accent and pronunciation, 17, 18, 22, 34, 38–39, 40, 41–43, 44–45, 47, 48–49, 51–52, 91, 130; and Heine, 171, 175, 176, 177–82, 275n45; and Hellenic-Hebraic divide, 11; and H. Herz, 60, 61; and Herzl, 13; historical approaches to, 191–216; in historical novels, 19, 165, 168, 169, 170, 171–89, 233, 273–74n25; history of, 169; idealization and adulation of, 1, 7–8, 10, 13, 22, 45, 53, 54, 61, 197, 231, 236; identity of as superior to Judaism, 60; and intermarriage, 93–94; and Islam, 3; and Israelites, 87, 88; and Jacobs, 70, 72; and Jewish national literature, 165; as Jewish Other, 1, 52, 53, 93; and Judt, 96; and Kayserling, 89–92; and language, 50, 66, 90–92, 93, 191; and Lilien, 108; and liturgy, 47, 91–92, 190; and Marrano experience, 169; and M. Mendelssohn, 63; migration of, 161–62; and modernity, 22; morality of, 45, 94, 162; and music, 47, 48; mythologizing of medieval history of, 16; and myths of origin, 77; Neubauer on, 88; newspaper profiles of, 190; nobility of, 3, 77–78, 89, 90; as open to world, 66; and orientalism, 15–16, 77; and orientalizing of Jews, 45; and persecution, 54, 169, 274n30; and Philippson, 184–86; philosophical traditions of, 191, 192; photographs of, 106; and physical anthropology, 85, 86; physical appearance of, 48, 108; and poetry, 2, 37, 190, 191, 192; and Polish Jews, 202; poor, marginal, and unlearned, 191; and post–World War I period, 234; and pre-Christian Judaism, 206; and pride of ancestry, 206; and purity of blood, 54; and race, 87, 91; and rationalist thought, 3, 191; and Reckendorf, 214; as refugees, 161–62, 171, 278n5; and romanticism, 10; and Ruppin, 72; schools of, 213; and Semitic type, 78; separatist identity of, 93–94; and *Sfaradi tabor* concept, 50; as social and cultural template, 14; social conditions of, 22; and soul, 92; spirit, genius, and ambition of, 186; success of after 1492 expulsion, 19; suffering of, 10, 162, 171, 173, 174, 184, 186; and *Sulamith*, 65–66; superiority of, 1, 14, 22, 88, 89–92, 108, 162, 174, 215, 236; survival instinct of, 93; symbolic capital of, 3–4; and synagogues, 18, 131, 160; texts of, 22; as thriving in Muslim Spain, 14; tragic end of, 2; and Treitschke, 215; and tribe of Judah, 56, 88; triumphs of, 171; universal importance of, 206; as *Urjude*, 87; virtues of, 87; and N. Wessely, 40–42; worldliness of, 162; and Adolf Zemlinsky, 184; and Zionism, 13, 48–49, 93, 96; and Zunz, 211–12. *See also* Spain
- Sethe, Christian, 177
- Seville, Giralda in, 152
- Shabbtai Zvi, 13, 39, 207
- Shakhna, Shalom, 202

- Shusterman, Richard, 243n10
- Simonson, Otto, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143
- Skolnik, Jonathan, 16–17, 168, 172
- slavery, 123, 125
- smoking pipe, carved, 83, fig. 2.7
- Snyder, Saskia Coenen, 268n55
- social acceptance, 1, 16, 174, 224; and aesthetics, 5, 7, 31; and Goldziher, 224; and Graetz, 214, 215; and Nicolai, 62; and orientalism, 16; and self-criticism, 6; and Simonson, 143. *See also* discrimination; persecution; tolerance
- social integration, 69, 76, 122. *See also* assimilation
- Society for the Promotion of the Noble and the Good, 61
- society/social conditions, 53, 102, 114, 210; debasement through, 41; and Goldziher, 218; and persecution, 162, 212; and synagogues, 117; and N. Wessely, 42. *See also* discrimination; emancipation; persecution
- solar mythology, 225
- Solomon, Simeon, 106
- Sorkin, David, 246n37
- sound/aurality: aesthetics of, 44; and Enlightenment, 33; and Jews as discordant noisemakers, 33; and purity, 24; and Sephardim, 61. *See also* German; Hebrew; Hebrew accent and pronunciation; language; music
- Spain, 93, 141; Arab and Jewish culture in, 199; and Chamberlain, 75; character development under, 66; decline of, 188, 215; and effects of Exile, 211; expulsion from, 63, 64, 188, 211–12, 215, 278n5; and Geiger, 199, 202; Germany as antithesis of Muslim, 174; Golden Age in, 2, 3, 19, 40, 129, 202, 203, 209–10, 231, 236; Hamites in, 77; and Hebrew, 26; and Heine, 175, 177, 179; in historical novels, 164, 172; and Jerusalem, 206; Jewish life in Muslim, 199; and Jewish orientalists, 194; Jews, Muslims, and Christians in, 10, 16; medieval, 160; mosques in, 139; as new Jerusalem, 173; occupations in, 41; Sephardim as thriving in, 14; tolerance and acceptance in, 16. *See also* *convivencia*; Islam; Sephardim
- Spaniards, 77, 101
- speech, 28, 42, 44. *See also* language; orality
- Spinoza, Baruch, 70, 72, 170, 232
- sport, 67, 256n48
- Spurzheim, Johann Gaspar, 252–53n1
- Stanislawski, Michael, 106
- Steinschneider, Moritz, 283n93
- Stern, Moritz, 199
- Struck, Hermann, 234
- Stüler, August, 154
- Sturm und Drang era, 123
- Suez Canal, 228
- suffering: Ashkenazic Jews as scarred by, 14; attachment to, 11; as characteristic of Jews, 67; and Du Bois, 7; and Graetz, 207, 282n64; and Haskalah, 11, 12; higher purpose for, 282n64; in historical novels, 171, 173, 174, 184, 186, 187; and romanticism, 10; and Sephardim, 10, 162, 171, 173, 174, 184, 186; and Adolf Zemplinsky, 184. *See also* Exile; persecution
- Sulamith*, 34, 61, 64–66, 248n59
- Sulzer, Johann, 266n29
- sumptuary laws, 5, 240n13
- superstition, 2, 10
- Synagogenordnung*, 46
- synagogues, 112–60, 174; and aesthetics, 130; architects of, 17; and authenticity, 130; behavior in, 46–47; and built environment, 268n55; Central European, 128; and children's services, 47; Christian regulation of, 117–18; and churches, 118, 125; in cities, 132, 133; and conformity vs. difference, 122–23; construction of, 18; cost and size of, 117; didactic purposes of, 117, 118; exoticness in, 130; German provincial, 131–32; height of, 118; and integrationist impulse, 118; as intended to draw attention, 152; and link to Oriental past, 131; and liturgical music, 46–47; location of, 117, 118, 122, 150–51; medieval, 265n21; music in services of, 35; Near Eastern, 131; and nineteenth-century building boom, 128; Oriental, 159; orientalist, 110, 126; and orientalizations, 143, 144, 149, 160; and outsider status, 122; and public sphere, 112, 113; and Reform Judaism, 135; rejection of traditional, 130; and Sephardim, 18, 131, 160; western temples, 141; and Torah ark, 120; Westernization of services in, 130. *See also* architecture; architecture, elements and styles of

- syncretism, 219  
Syrian Jews, 51  
Syrians, 205  
Székesfehérvár, 216, 218
- Talmud, 65, 193, 195, 201, 202, 210, 211, 221  
Talmud Torah, 167  
Tevele, David ben Nathan, 250n93  
theater: German, 33; Hebrew, 236; and Sephardic beauty, 95; Yiddish, 235, 236, 274–75n33; and Zweig, 288n1  
theaters, 131, 175  
Theilhaber, Felix, 262n19  
Theodosian Code, 117  
theology, 47, 79, 81, 130; and Geiger, 195, 197, 200, 201; and Goldziher, 224, 227; and Hasidism, 240n20. *See also* Judaism  
Tiberias, academy of Mar Zutra III, 205  
Tirado, Jakob, 186–87  
Titkin, Solomon, 201, 280–81n38  
tolerance, 65, 164; and Geiger, 199; and Goldziher, 227; and Graetz, 204; and Heine, 177, 207; and Herzl, 205; and Islam, 19, 231; and Leopold III, 118–19; in novels, 170, 184; and orientalism, 16, 193; and Semper, 138; and Sephardim, 2; synagogues as demonstrations of, 118. *See also* Joseph II; social acceptance  
Torah, 31, 37, 42, 47, 48  
Torah ark, 140; and Dresden synagogue, 137; and Ingenheim synagogue, 131; and Kassel synagogue, 125; and Leipzig synagogue, 139–40, 141; and Leopoldstädter Tempel, 146; and Neue Synagoge, Berlin, 154, fig. 3.12; and synagogues, 120  
Torah study, 5, 26, 89  
Trefort, August, 222  
Treitschke, Heinrich von, 159, 215  
Turkey, 185
- United Hebrew Charities of New York City, 94  
United States, 94, 97, 103, 120, 129  
University of Breslau, 204  
University of Budapest, 224  
upper class, 3, 4, 5, 6, 127, 224  
urbanization, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116  
Ury, Lesser, 233  
Ussishkin, Menakhem, 50
- Vámbéry, Arminius, 222  
Van Brunt, Henry, 117  
Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden (Association for the Culture and Scholarship of the Jews), 161, 162, 175, 193, 272n12  
vernacular: acquisition of, 54; Friedländer on, 35; and Geiger, 199; Hebrew as, 23, 32, 38; and Maimonides, 62; and M. Mendelssohn, 246n37; and Sephardim, 91; Yiddish as, 8, 234; Yiddish vs. German as, 58; and Zunz, 123. *See also* language  
Vianen, Paulus van, 259n85  
Vienna, 13, 116, 133; growth of Jewish population in, 116; Leopoldstadt district, 144; Ringstrasse, 144; Seitenstettengasse synagogue, 119, 144. *See also* Leopoldstädter Tempel, Vienna  
Vienna synagogue, 122, 156  
Vilna, 98  
Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel, 158  
Viragh, Daniel, 217  
Voit, August von, 131  
*völkisch* ideology/movement, 82, 93  
*Volksgemeinschaft* (national community), 82, 231  
Voltaire, 54, 55–56, 57, 88, 195, 196, 207
- Wagner, Cosima, 137, 269n71  
Wagner, Richard, 74, 75, 137, 269n71  
Wahrman, Dror, 5–6  
Wahrman, Moritz, 225  
Wassermann, Jacob, 288n1  
Weimar Republic, 235–36, 237  
Weinbrenner, Friedrich, 120–21, 122, 123  
Weissenberg, Samuel, 78  
Wessely, Carl Bernhard, 34  
Wessely, Naphtali Herz, 34, 44, 89, 202, 213, 250nn95–96; *Divrei shalom ve-emet* (Words of Peace and Truth), 32, 39–43, 250n93  
Western Europe, 115  
Western European Jews, 54, 232–37  
Westernization, 228, 229  
Wilkansky, Meir, 257–58n67  
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *History of Ancient Art*, 32  
Winz, Leo, 232–33  
*Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 165, 190, 191, 211; and Geiger, 194, 198, 199, 280n28;

- and Goldziher, 220; and Graetz, 203; and Scholem, 236; and Sephardic pronunciation, 45; and tragedy, 282n64; and Zunz, 212, 213, 280n34
- Wolf, Joseph, 64–65, 248n59
- Wolff, Johann Heinrich, 128
- women: and Fishberg, 100–101, 108; and Graetz, 205; in historical novels, 171; and Lilien, 106, 108; and pleasure reading, 167
- women's gallery, 181; in Dresden synagogue, 137; in Frankfurt synagogue, 122; in Ingenheim synagogue, 131; in Karlsruhe synagogue, 120; in Kassel synagogue, 125–26; in Leipzig synagogue, 139
- World War I, 227, 232, 234, 237
- Wörlitz synagogue, 118–19, 121–22, 265n24, fig. 3.1
- Wren, Sir Christopher, 127
- Yellin, David, 50, 51
- Yerushalmi, Tanhum ben Yosef ha-, 222
- Yerushalmi, Yosef Hayim, 188; *Zakhor*, 189
- Yiddish, 2, 5, 45, 48, 52, 130, 191; abandonment of, 39; and aesthetics, 31; Bible in, 214; as corrupted language, 23; and Eastern European Jews, 8, 58–59; and Edict of Toleration, 40; and English, 9; expression of logical, humane thoughts in, 51; and Friedländer, 58; and Geiger, 199; and German, 9, 91; and German Jews, 8, 17, 58, 214, 236; in Germany, 8; and Goldziher, 217; and Graetz, 209, 211, 217, 283n84; and Hebrew, 23, 25, 29–30, 31; and Hebrew pronunciation, 17, 49; and Heine, 177; and historical novels, 272n7; as impure, 91; and Kayserling, 90, 91; and Levinzon, 252n125; and Maimonides, 63; and maskilim, 5, 29; and M. Mendelssohn, 29–30, 209, 246n37; and *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde*, 232; and morality, 29–30; and Polish Jews, 8, 34–35, 57, 212, 234; and popular culture, 33; pronunciation of, 8; and Reckendorf, 214; and N. Wessely, 40, 42, 43; and Zunz, 213
- Yiddish fiction, 233
- Yiddish songs, 233
- Yiddish theater, 235, 236. *See also* Hebrew theater
- Zamosc, Israel ben Moshe, Halevi, 24
- Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judentums*, 204
- Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 272n12
- Zelikovitz, Getzl, 49
- Zemlinsky, Adolf (Aharon ben Avraham), 183–84; *The Jew's Revenge*, 184
- Zemlinsky, Alexander, 183, 184
- Zemlinsky, Clara, 183
- Zionism, 52, 232, 257–58n67; advent of, 23; and aesthetics, 49; and anthropology, 93; and Arabs, 72, 73; and E. Auerbach, 72; and Enlightenment, 29; and Europe, 73; founding of, 98; and Goldziher, 223; and Hebrew, 29; and Hebrew pronunciation, 48–51; and Israelites on ancient reliefs, 68; and Jewish physicality, 98; and language, 93; and Lilien, 107; and outer form as reflecting inner character, 53; in Poland, 236; and Polish Jews, 234; and Ruppin, 72–73; and Sephardic accent, 51–52; and Sephardic Hebrew as rehumanizing, 51; and Sephardim, 13, 96; and Sephardim as ideal type, 93; and transformation of *yebudi* (Jew) into *ivri* (Hebrew), 48; and Weimar Republic, 236; and Zweig, 234. *See also* Jewish nationalism
- Zukunft* (Future), 99
- Zunz, Leopold, 165, 175, 191, 211–13, 214, 239n5, 280n34, 283n93; *The Religious Sermons of the Jews*, 211–12
- Zweig, Arnold, *The Countenance of Eastern European Jewry*, 234–35
- Zweig, Max, *The Marranos*, 288n1